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10 January 1984

USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

DEFENSIVE GOALS OF REAGAN SPACE ANTIMISSILE PLANS DENIED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 38, 20 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Article: "'Space' Deceivers"]

[Text] In today's talk with readers we answer questions asked by Yu. Stepanov of Omsk, N. Kolmykova of Arkhangelsk, I. Petrovskiy of Liyepaya, I. Fomina of Chelyabinsk and others.

[Question] Today a lot is being said about war in space for which Reagan is preparing. Tell us what is the nature of U.S. military space programs.

[Answer] Washington's adventurers are truly preparing for "star wars". Ideas from the Pentagon include, according to reports of American newspapers, destruction of the enemy's satellites, particularly with a flying "umbrella," which is an orbiting weapon system firing metal ammunition prior to colliding with a target. While engaging in offensive antisatellite armaments, Pentagon specialists are also developing methods of protecting American military and spy satellites. This includes "parking" them in space above the level where the enemy's satellites could reach them.

Even today military experiments are being conducted in a space orbit with the aid of a ship of the "Shuttle" type (114 launches are planned over a 10-year period).

A real antisatellite weapon also exists. Thus the Pentagon plans in the very near future to conduct with the high-altitude F-15 fighter a test firing of a 6-meter missile for the purpose of destroying artificial space objects. It appears that any such plan could be transformed into an antisatellite fighter in 6 hours. It has already been decided that in 4 years 112 missiles and 2 squadrons will be operating on 24-hour duty.

All this requires money. U.S. outlays on space developments amount, according to data of the English newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES, to 15 billion dollars a year. They will be increased in real terms by 10 percent a year. But even this is not enough.

The "star fever," which has seized the U.S. Administration, broke out with new strength after 23 March when R. Reagan turned to American scientists with the

request to provide the means to make nuclear weapons ineffective and obsolete." This was understood to mean the creation of various kinds of systems in space that could with laser and beam weapons destroy the enemy's missiles and other objects. The idea of hiding behind a defensive shield, paralyzing Soviet intercontinental missiles and depriving the USSR of inflicting an answering blow is now being realized by U.S. military-industrial monopolies.

According to one version, it is planned to arm 400 satellites with an assortment of destructive high-energy rays. Their beams will consist, the American journal PROGRESSIVE writes, of light, or X-rays, or microwaves and electromagnetic pulses. Washington is also considering creating a ring of 35 orbital military stations located in low orbits. Each of them will be equipped with a powerful laser combined with 33 focusing mirrors for the purpose of aiming lethal rays at a target....

These plans are being openly discussed on the pages of the U.S. press. Even Americans inured to catastrophes, coercion and horror, shudder at the president's plans. THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote: "The blood will congeal in one's veins from the plans of using space for war."

[Question] One hears: there is nothing bad, they say, in having military equipment in space "defending one from attack"....

[Answer] Actually, the information media, for the most part obedient to the White House, have launched a campaign propagandizing the new "peace-seeking" action of the president for the creation of an "antimissile superweapon." Since then "voices" have been advertising tirelessly "good" defense in the American style. Actually, such "concern for defense" means nothing else than the beginning of a new and most dangerous round of the arms race. Here are the facts.

The country, which has 26,000 nuclear charges (including more than 10,000 strategic charges and is planning the production of another 17,000, is manifestly preparing for attack rather than for defense. A state, locating its military contingents in tens of countries far from its territories, threatening small countries and peoples with force and sending spy planes over foreign territories, cannot be called a state defending its borders. The growing gigantic military budget also is not compatible with speeches about defense.

Even the very idea of antimissile defense (PRO) is more in keeping with the attacking side. Here is an authoritative opinion of prominent Soviet scientists that has been confirmed by many of their colleagues abroad: no effective means of defense exist in nuclear war, and their creation is practically impossible; no single antimissile defense can totally ward off an answering blow. It can only diminish its power. For this reason American antimissile defense is an element intensifying the potential of the "first blow." The fact is that only the attacking side would be interested in reducing the power of the answering blow.

[Question] Readers ask--does this mean that talks about a highly effective defensive shield only fulfill the role of a propaganda cloak?

[Answer] Not only that. The matter is much more complex.

First, this is the path to American imperialism's cherished dream of a nuclear monopoly: on neutralizing the Soviet nuclear potential to foist its will on the world.

Second, an arms race in space means new orders and new profits for military-industrial corporations. Discussions on the defensive character of the new arms are intended to convince the taxpayers concerning the need for additional funds for the monopolies, inasmuch as this system will require tremendous outlays.

Third, American imperialism quite openly raises the question of undermining the economic potential of the USSR. In order to create counterforces opposing the American, the USSR, it is believed in Washington, will be required to seriously reallocate its material resources. If on the whole, the schemes of the militarists are unattainable, they still can realistically count on a certain reduction of the tempo of development of the economy and growth of well-being by foisting on us a space arms race. At the same time, regardless of how minimal this reduction might be, it will inevitably inflated by Western propaganda. And by way of a reason there will be pointed out as always the "ineffectiveness of the socialist system of management."

[Question] Why do we not believe the American politicians when they say that antinuclear weapons are being created exclusively for good purposes?

[Answer] First of all, we cannot agree that the world will become more stable if new systems of armament will be adopted. Peace from a position of strength is an unnatural and unstable state. Reagan says: "Restraint is similar to two persons with loaded pistols holding their fingers on the trigger, ready to shoot." The president here means most likely the countries--USSR and U.S.A. Regan does not propose throwing away the "pistols" simultaneously or at least setting them on safety for the time being. Quite the contrary, he wants to get hold of more quickly than his adversary a "rapid-fire automatic" (by the end of the '80s U.S. militarist circles intend to create a qualitatively new strategic potential in addition to the one existing today). Then they plan to hide behind the "armor" (we have in mind the creation of an antimissile defense system). And they are attempting to convince us that all this is being done for exclusively peaceful purposes.

Such a policy does not provide the basis for the assertion that the gangster urge of the militarists will not turn to aggressions. There are more than enough such examples in history. Let us recall that short period when the United States possessed a monopoly of nuclear armaments. They immediately applied it against the peaceful inhabitants of Japan. No guarantees exist that in the future they, in trying to make themselves secure, will not use nuclear arms first, just as there are no guarantees that gigantic "hyperboloids" placed in space by the U.S.A., will not only threaten missiles but peaceful inhabitants as well.

Thus Washington's arguments on the subject of defense constitute new trickery raised to the elevation of space.

[Question] Tell me, please, what is responsible for our new proposal on bridling the arms race in space orbits?" To the best of my knowledge, a number of important agreements exist on this plane.

[Answer] Indeed, peace-loving forces have succeeded in achieving a great deal relating to prevention of militarization of space. Let us recall only a few agreements of the last 20 years. 1967--A treaty forbidding tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in space and underwater. 1967--A treaty on principles of activity of states in relation to research and utilization of outer space, including the moon and other stellar bodies. 1976--The convention on the prohibition of military or any other inimical use of means of affecting the natural environment. These and a number of other international documents were concluded on the initiative and with the active participation of our country. All of them (including the final draft of the Treaty "On Prohibition of Force in Outer Space and from Space in Regard to the Earth") are convincing proof of the peaceful intentions of the USSR.

And so agreements exist; they are in operation. But the development of science and technology and utilization of outer space create new channels for its transformation into a theater of military action. And since they have not been covered, life demands the development of additional measures.

Precisely because time does not wait, the Soviet Union, in addition to the observance of existing agreements, proposes to adopt a new, more inclusive, more radical and more concrete agreement.

In a talk on 18 August with a group of American senators, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yu.V. Andropov proposed an agreement on the total prohibition of tests and development of any weapon based in space for hitting of targets on Earth, in air and outer space. At the same time, it was stated that our country was ready to radically resolve the question of antisatellite weapons--to reach an agreement on the elimination of already existing systems and prohibition of creation of new ones.

[Question] Our country once more has demonstrated its good will in making the commitment not to be the first to put into outer space any kinds of antisatellite weapons. Does not this infringe on our security?

[Answer] This kind of question is also being raised in the West. True, more often with an anti-Soviet, provocative spirit. They are saying that this initiative is evidence of our weakness. On the other hand, they assert that "the Soviets have achieved superiority in space and are now trying to preserve this condition." Even the BBC devotes one evening to instilling fear of "Soviet might" and another to innuendos about our "weakness."

Twenty-six years ago the Soviet Union opened up to mankind the way to space. In this way it provided an unequivocal and clear answer to any kind of

conjectures concerning our technical resources and developmental level of Soviet science. And then, despite a certain advantage which the USSR obtained over the other states, especially the United States, it came out in the UN with a proposal on forbidding the use of outer space for military purposes.

Of course, the Soviet people are in a position to provide an appropriate response to any military space challenge from the other side. But this is not our choice. The Soviet Union is introducing a unilateral moratorium on launching of antisatellite weapons for as long as other states restrain themselves from putting into space such weapons. This is not a matter of weakness but of confidence in our powers and in our determination to strengthen peace and security on Earth with concrete deeds.

The seriousness of our country's approach to this problem is recognized by many Western journalists and scientists. "The Russians have extended an olive branch in speaking of armaments in space," the English OBSERVER writes.

"It would be stupid and shortsighted to ignore the proposal of the USSR," K. Gottfried, professor of physics at Cornell University, declared on the pages of THE WASHINGTON POST. "The Russians will create their own counter-weapons." The same conclusion is shared by other American scientists. The U.S. administration should heed their opinion.

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CSO: 1807/69

INTERNATIONAL

U. S., SOVIET POSITIONS IN TNF NEGOTIATIONS REVIEWED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 45, 6 Nov 83 pp 5-6

[Article by V. Andreyev: "Genuine Flexibility and Imaginary Flexibility"]

[Text] The book "Razoruzheniye: kto protiv?" [Disarmament: Who Is Against It?] Will be a great help to everyone who is interested in the present state of the problem of controlling and limiting different types of armaments. The book has just been published by the Military Publishing House.

It is known that the propaganda machine of the United States and the other NATO countries and their "radio voices" are not sparing any air time and ink in justifying the policy of the arms race and the military superiority of the United States and that they are resorting to any tricks in doing this.

The leaders of the United States are continuously misinforming public opinion about the state of affairs in the disarmament negotiations and are representing the proposals and position of the Soviet Union in a false light. They maintain that the United States is allegedly conducting the negotiations flexibly and constructively, but the USSR, they say, is impeding the negotiations and does not desire any major decrease in weapons.

In the book "Razoruzheniye: kto protiv?" [Disarmament: Who Is Against It?], a true evaluation of the state of affairs in the disarmament negotiations is given and the reasons for their stagnation are shown.

There are especially many insinuations in the West around the problem of medium range nuclear weapons on the continent, which is the central problem at the present time for the peoples of Europe and an important one for the entire world.

That is why we are dwelling in more detail on this section of the book.

What Do We Want

During the discussions on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe, the USSR has made a whole series of constructive proposals and has demonstrated genuine flexibility.

1. At the beginning of the negotiations (1980), the USSR proposed negotiating a moratorium on medium range nuclear systems in Europe. Only one thing was required for this -- the good will and readiness of the United States to halt the arms race; however, it did not display these. The Soviet Union, nevertheless, introduced a moratorium on medium range nuclear weapons on the European part of its territory unilaterally for the sake of finding a mutually acceptable solution. How did the United States reply? With tests of Pershing-II missiles and cruise missiles and with statements that NATO's decision on "re-arming" Western Europe would be carried out no matter what.

2. In 1981, the USSR supported there being no nuclear weapons-- both medium range and tactical -- in Europe. What was unfair here? Only those, who do not want equal arrangements and who count on having a solid advantage for themselves, can reject such a proposal. The United States replied with silence to our initiative and has been silent for two years.

3. Since the United States is not moving toward the complete freeing of the European zone from medium range nuclear weapons, the Soviet side -- in order to find a mutually acceptable solution -- proposed another plan for limiting nuclear weapons in Europe, which was embodied in the draft treaty that was introduced by it during the negotiations: Decrease the number of Soviet and American medium range nuclear delivery systems to a level of 300 for the USSR side and the NATO side, that is, by threefold and even more; ban the deployment of new types of nuclear weapons here; carry out concomitant measures to limit nuclear weapons with a range from 500 to 100 kilometers; and ensure adequate controls over the fulfillment of the obligations by the parties. This proposal was rejected categorically by the United States.

4. Subsequently, in 1982, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov put forward a fundamentally new and far reaching proposal-- the readiness of the USSR to move to a point where it would have in Europe only as many medium range missiles as England and France have -- and not one more and establishing complete equality of the sides at a significantly lower level than now for the number of medium range aircraft.

5. They began to maintain in the West that the Soviet Union would have more nuclear warheads on the missiles under this proposal. Even here, the USSR demonstrated good will. It expressed a readiness to negotiate the equality of nuclear potentials in Europe based on delivery systems and also based on the warheads on them considering, of course, the corresponding weapons of England and France. Yu. V. Andropov pointed out: "We are in favor of the USSR having no more missiles and warheads on them than on the NATO side during each mutually stipulated period. When the number of warheads on English and French missiles is decreased, the number of warheads on our medium range missiles would be decreased as much. This same approach would be expanded also to this class of aviation systems which is deployed in Europe. An approximate equality between the USSR and NATO would thereby be maintained both in medium range nuclear weapon delivery systems, that is, in missiles and aircraft and in the number of warheads on them -- and this equality would be at a considerably lower level than now." As a result, the

Soviet Union would have in the European zone considerably fewer medium range missiles and warheads than prior to 1976 when no one questioned the existence of parity in this area.

6. Later, the Soviet Union took another large step. In answer to questions from the newspaper PRAVDA (27 August 1983), Yu. V. Andropov stated that in the event a mutually acceptable agreement was reached that would include a U. S. renunciation of deploying new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union--when reducing its medium range missiles in the country's European part to the level of an equal number of missiles in England and France -- would eliminate all of the reduced missiles, including a considerable number of the most modern ones which are known in the West under the name SS-20.

The exceptional importance of this new demonstration of good will by the Soviet Union is evident. First, any grounds for the Americans maintaining that the Soviet Union in fact intended to keep the SS-20 missiles, which were subject to reduction, by simply shifting their bases from Europe to the East, were taken away. Second, the far-fetched thesis of "exporting the nuclear threat to Asia" was deprived of any justification.

7. On 27 October, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, in replying to questions from the newspaper PRAVDA, proposed new important initiatives (after the book had already been published). They were another large step forward by the Soviet side. The American newspaper WASHINGTON POST had a reason for writing that the Soviet leader had demonstrated the flexibility of the Soviet Union when he announced the new proposals in the area of arms control.

At the same time, Yu. V. Andropov warned that the continuation of the Geneva negotiations would be impossible if NATO deployed the new American missiles in Western Europe during December of this year.

Yu. V. Andropov stated the readiness of the Soviet Union to negotiate a reduction of medium range nuclear weapons in Europe to an identical level for both sides in delivery systems and warheads. The West German newspaper FRANKFURTER ALGEMEINE wrote: "The fact that the USSR would have approximately 140 SS-20 missile launchers in Europe as a result of this reduction, that is, fewer medium range missile launchers than England and France have, is a new item in the Soviet proposal. If the United States renounces the deployment of such missiles during the announced period, an opportunity would be created to continue the negotiations and the search for mutually acceptable solutions. The Soviet Union is prepared to demonstrate additional flexibility in the matter of establishing medium range aircraft total levels which are equal for the USSR and NATO, in a mutually acceptable quantitative range, i.e., in that area which is extremely difficult and which is evoking the greatest controversies during the discussions on medium range nuclear weapons.

As we see, the Soviet Union has done and is doing everything that depends upon it to find a denouement for the negotiations and to achieve a mutually acceptable arrangement.

What The Americans Want

What is the essence of the American proposals in the negotiations? As is known, it has been formulated in the so-called "zero option" and "intermediate solution" that were proposed by President Reagan. It is said in the book "Razoruzheniye: kto protiv?" that the American side is trying to maintain with a serious face that the Soviet Union possesses a "monopoly" in Europe of medium nuclear missiles and, in addition a "menacing superiority" in aviation nuclear weapons delivery systems.

1. Therefore, the USSR must unilaterally eliminate all of its medium range missiles in accordance with the "zero option". If it does not do this, the United States will deploy 572 missiles (108 Pershing-II ballistic missiles and 464 cruise missiles) in Western Europe. Thus, we are talking about an ultimatum demand for the unilateral disarmament of the USSR. The United States and NATO themselves do not want to reduce by a single missile or a single aircraft.

However, you see, U. S. forward based nuclear systems and English and French nuclear weapons actually exist today. The Americans -- yes, and the French and the English -- are categorically against their counting in the negotiations. On paper, they have reduced their medium range nuclear weapons to zero.

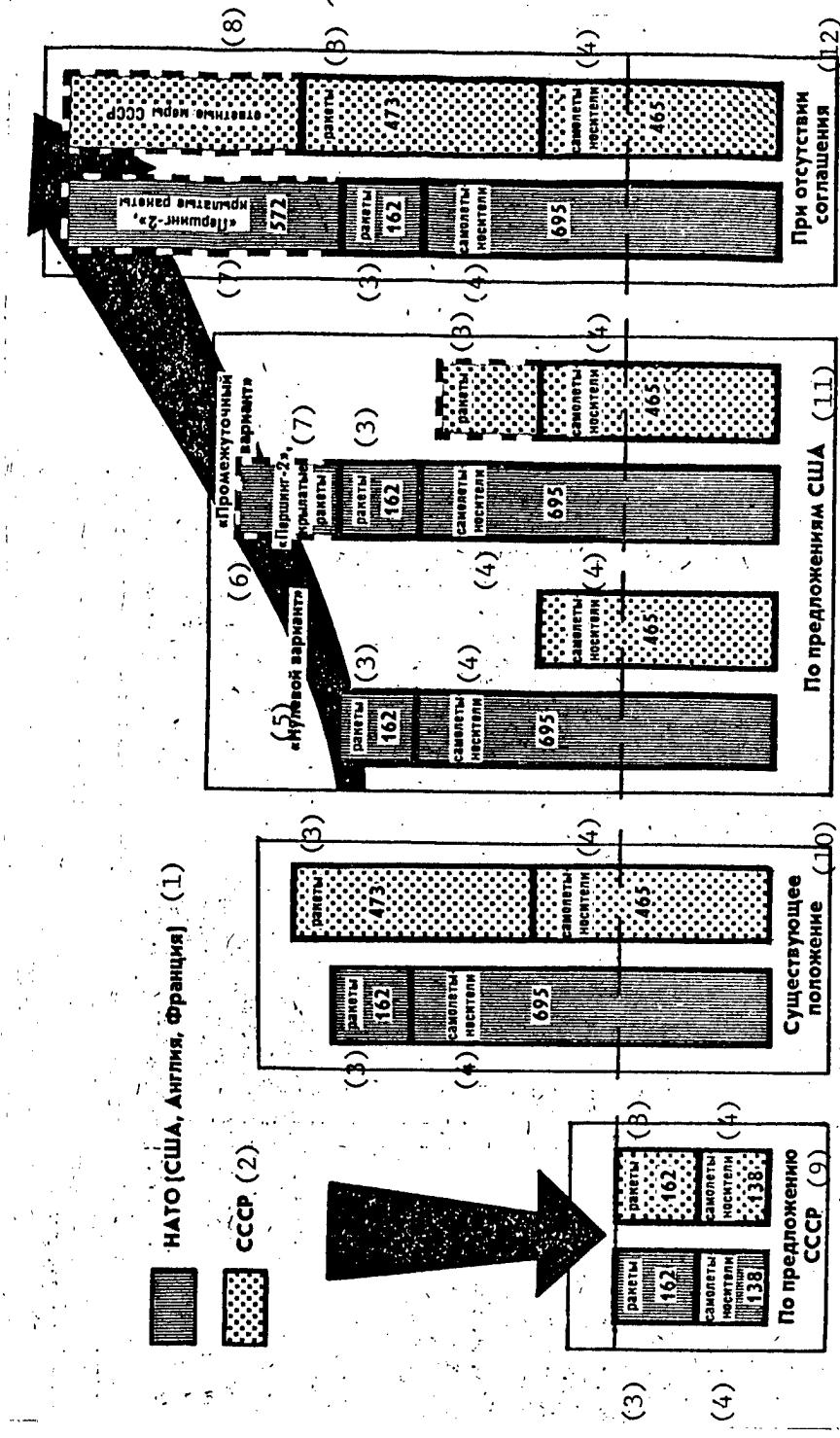
In fact, the alignment of forces between the USSR and NATO is now approximately 1:1 in delivery systems and 1:4 in warheads.

If the American "zero option" is adopted, this would mean that the number of NATO medium range nuclear systems would not decrease at all at a time when the number of these systems in the European part of the USSR would be reduced by more than half. As a result, the NATO advantage in the number of medium range nuclear weapons delivery systems would more than double, and in the number of nuclear warheads would increase threefold. Here it is-- the "flexibility" of the imperialists!

The basis for the "intermediate solution" is the same -- a gain for the United States and a loss for the USSR. There is nothing new in it. It is emphasized in the book being reviewed that its essence lies in the fact that the American side is laying claim to increasing its forward based nuclear systems in the form of Pershing-II ballistic missiles and cruise missiles and it is proposed that the Soviet Union "give its blessings" to the plans for this build-up and even reduce its weapons of this class. This is graphically shown in the table that is published below.

* Cf. ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, Nos 17, 40 and 41.

Ratio of Medium Range NATO and USSR Nuclear Systems in Europe
(now and in the future)



Key:

1. NATO (U.S., England, France)
2. USSR
3. Missiles
4. Aircraft delivery systems
5. "Zero option"
6. "Intermediate Plan"
7. Pershing-II, cruise missiles
8. USSR retaliatory measures
9. According to USSR proposal
10. Existing situation
11. According to U.S. proposal
12. With the absence of an agreement

The U. S. proposals are unacceptable to the USSR for the following reasons:

- They provide for the deployment of American missiles and a unilateral reduction in Soviet missiles;
- They do not consider the corresponding nuclear weapons of England and France;
- They exclude American medium range aviation from the agreement;
- They drag into the agreement weapons which are deployed in the Eastern part of the USSR and which do not have any relationship to the discussions in Geneva.

3. The so-called "new initiative" of the United States, which was announced by President Reagan on 27 September 1983, does not change the essence of the American approach. The goal remains the same -- to deploy American missiles in Europe in addition to the already existing nuclear potential of the English and French missiles. They propose that the Soviet Union only discuss in what amount and in what composition. However, there is nothing to discuss and nothing to negotiate since we are only talking about the same "intermediate plan".

It is further pointed out in the book "Razoruzheniye: kto protiv?" that the U. S. administration has shown by its "new initiative" that it wants not disarmament but an increase in its forward based nuclear systems in Europe. No matter what words the president used, the activity of Washington is directed toward sabotaging the negotiations and deploying missiles under the pretext of the negotiation's failure.

The American side has made the justified demand of the Soviet side to count the English and French medium range nuclear systems on the NATO side a cause. You see this artificially raised obstacle deserves to be removed -- nothing will remain of the "zero option", of the "intermediate solution" and of the USSR "missile monopoly" argument. This is the main reason why the United States has converted the question of English and French nuclear systems into a stumbling-block in the negotiations, trying to drag them out and -- citing the "intractability of the Russians" -- to then deploy their new missiles in Western Europe.

As has been repeatedly emphasized by Soviet leaders, it is judged that the claims of the United States and NATO to acquire military superiority will not come about. Retaliatory measures by the Soviet Union will oppose the American program of deploying new weapons. There is, however, a way to avoid this dangerous development of events. As is rightfully pointed out in the book, it is a simple one. No deployment of new American missiles-- no deployment of corresponding Soviet systems.

Unfortunately the time, which has already passed since the publication of the book "Razoruzheniye: kto protiv?", shows that the United States and NATO are still resisting these wise proposals of the Soviet Union and the

other countries of socialism. That is why under these conditions the USSR and its allies have recently announced the adoption of a number of measures to insure their security.

8802
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INTERNATIONAL

STATE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED ON MOSCOW BOOK FAIR

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 83 p 3

[Article: "A Book Serves Peace and Progress"]

[Text] The fourth Moscow International Book Fair [MIBF] has concluded its work. Our correspondent talks with the chairman of the Organizational Committee of the Exhibition-Fair and the State Planning Committee Chairman B. N. Pastukhov.

For the duration of a week our capital was the center of a large multinational festival of books, a place of fruitful contacts for book publishers and book distributors of the world. The representatives of 2,600 organizations and firms from more than 90 countries of the world carried on friendly and constructive discussions and concluded mutually beneficial agreements. The widespread interest in the fair of book publishers and distributors of various countries is quite natural: Its goals and tasks, expressed by the motto "A book in the service of peace and progress," answer the loftiest and most noble ideals of our time.

With a feeling of deep satisfaction the participants and guests of the fair received the greeting from the USSR Council of Ministers, in which is emphasized the growing role of a book in asserting genuine humanism, in preserving the moral health of mankind and its confidence in tomorrow.

We have all the grounds to consider that the results of the concluding fair were good ones. First of all, because it took place in a quiet, businesslike atmosphere. Foreign participants at the fair had a good opportunity to actually see and evaluate the peace-loving aspirations of our country and to become convinced of the friendly feelings of the Soviet people. Statements by foreign colleagues testify to this.

The president of the firm (Kato Sink Tenk) (Japan), (Kosaki Kato) said: "The international political situation in the world is not very favorable at the present moment. And in this atmosphere your country is trying to remove the tension, striving toward the quickest signing of agreements for the reduction of nuclear armament not only in Europe, but in the entire world. We greatly value the peaceful proposals of the Soviet nation. I will express the opinion of all the Japanese people if I say that we support reaching an agreement in this most important area. The motto of the exhibition is another confirmation of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union."

"The success of the Soviet organizers and managers of the fair," noted the first deputy minister of culture of the Republic of Cuba, (Rafael' Al'meyda), "is now indisputable. The Moscow fair has gained the greatest popularity in the world. In my view everyone who is involved with book publishing and book trading should participate in it because its influence on the minds and hearts of people is enormous."

And this is what the Swedish book publishers (Seppo Isotalo) and (Elena Karlbek) declared: "Creative contacts, as nothing else, promote mutual understanding among people. We were convinced of this once again at the MIBF 1983. An atmosphere of friendship, peace and a striving toward mutual cooperation were a great help in its work from the first day of the fair."

Extremely significant are the figures which characterize the scale of our commercial activity at the fair: over 2,500 agreements on the acquisition and concession of copyrights were concluded, exceeding the level of the 1981 fair. The total amount of commercial transactions for the sale and purchase of book editions exceeds 100 million rubles, which is also more than at the last fair.

Large orders for Soviet literature were received from organizations in socialist countries, from firms in India, France, Portugal, Finland, Nicaragua and Afghanistan. On our part, we increased orders for foreign books.

I would like to note the ever-increasing interest of the foreign reader for classic works of Marxism-Leninism, for material on the 26th CPSU Congress and for books about the leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet Government. At the present fair, new agreements for their publication and distribution abroad were concluded. During the first days of the fair we signed contracts for the publication of the works of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, and other Soviet leaders. These books will be published in the near future in Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Czechoslovakia and Mexico.

At the fair our fiction and children's literature, scientific-technical books, editions on art, various reference books and dictionaries enjoyed great popularity.

It is characteristic that the popularity of books published by the publishing houses of the union republics increases each year at Moscow fairs. Their stands stirred up great interest among our foreign colleagues. At the present fair, republic publishing houses concluded about 600 export-import agreements and received orders for the sale of more than 5 million copies of books.

Soon after the fair our libraries and bookstore counters will receive the newest publications of foreign fiction and scientific-technical literature. These are the displays from the exhibition, bought by our organizations, and those books which will be published by Soviet publishing houses according to VAAP [All-Union Copyright Agency] contracts. I will cite a few examples. The publishing house "Raduga" will translate the new novel "The Magic Lantern" by the Bulgarian writer, (B. Raynov); the monograph "Karavadzho" and a collection "Artists of the Renaissance at Work" published in the USA; and the book

"Shandor Petefi" by the Hungarian writer (D. Iyyesha). The publishing house "Progress" among their newest foreign publications will acquaint the Soviet reader with sketches by (A. Stil) called "Trolleys in Bloom," describing the working class of contemporary France; with the work of a Japanese writer, (Kendzaburo Oe), "The Fire of Nuclear War and the Voice of the People and with a series of other works of foreign authors. *1 the*

With publishing houses and firms of socialist countries and also Great Britain, Italy, USA and Japan have been concluded agreements concerning the preparation and publishing of approximately 240 joint publications. Thus with the Swedish publishing house "Fram" an agreement was signed for the joint publication in Swedish of the Collected Works of V. I. Lenin in 10 volumes. The Bulgarian Party Publishing House and "Narodna kultura" in collaboration with the Soviet publishing house "Khudozhestvennaya literatura" will publish a five-volume collection of works of M. Sholokhov.

The publishing house "Russkiy yazyk" has concluded a contract with the firm, "Baykhaki," (Afghanistan) for publishing seven dictionaries with a general circulation of 125,000 copies.

As was expected, publishers and public leaders of different countries discussed with great interest the problems dealing with the role of books and the development of national culture and education at one of the sessions of "Kluba delovykh vstrech" [Clubs of Business Meetings]. Great attention was drawn to an international exposition dedicated to the same problem.

The fourth Moscow International Book Fair has become a genuine review of worldwide book publishing, one of the most impressive book forums promoting the further development of cultural and business connections and more profound mutual understanding and trust among peoples.

12484
CSO: 1800/73

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

UK RELATIONS DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED--The first volume of the history of Soviet-British relations during World War II has just come off the press. The two-volume edition was prepared by the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Many documents are published for the first time. Among these are records of conversations between the head of the Soviet Government, Joseph Stalin, the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. Also published for the first time are notes of conversations between the Soviet foreign minister and Soviet representatives in Britain with British officials and diplomats and also letters exchanged between the Soviet foreign minister and Soviet Embassy officials in London. The hitherto-unpublished materials have much significance for covering Soviet-British relations between 1941 and 1945. [Text] [Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 18 Nov 83 LD]

CSO: 1812/60

NATIONAL

ACADEMICIANS' ROUNDTABLE ON CPSU IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 10, Oct 83 (signed to press
28 Sep 83) pp 40-67

[Article consisting of contributions by historians to a "roundtable discussion" in the pages of the journal organized by the CPSU History Department of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee, first of two parts: "CPSU Ideological Work: Experience, Traditions, Prospects"]

[Text] On Studying the Experience of the Party's Ideological and Mass-Political Work in the Light of the Decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee (contributions to the "round-table discussion")

The study, generalization and practical use of the historical experience of the party's ideological and mass-political work and of communist indoctrination of the workers have great importance in making ideological work more effective in the future, in raising it to the level of the tasks set by the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.¹ Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, pointed out the need for a heedful approach to the experience which has been gained in the speech he delivered at the plenum.²

The experience of ideological and mass-political work is an inseparable component of the entire historical experience of the CPSU gained in the process of leadership of the building of socialism. Unless it is studied thoroughly, the tasks set by the party in ideological indoctrination of the workers and in the entire cause of perfecting advanced socialism cannot be given the correct scientific substantiation. "At present the term 'socialism' cannot be otherwise elucidated than by taking into account the exceedingly rich practical experience of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. This experience demonstrates the thorniness of many of the problems which have arisen on the road of socialist construction. But it also indicates that only socialism is able to solve the most complicated issues of social actuality."³

All of this pertains directly to scientific research work. It is this approach to it that is entirely in conformity with the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism and the method of materialist dialectics, a skillful mastery of

which guarantees that research is set up correctly. Disputes about terms are not unfruitful, but a concrete analysis of practical experience in its historical development--that is what is required of scholars studying the problems of ideological work.

V. I. Lenin taught that "every issue should be looked at from the point of view of how a particular phenomenon came about in history and of what were the main stages this phenomenon went through in its development, and to examine from that viewpoint of its development what the given thing has now become."⁴ Under present-day conditions the party, guided by Lenin's teaching, is requiring of researchers the closest relationship of social science to reality and more thorough study of concrete social phenomena so as to take into account the tendencies in their development.

In his meeting with party veterans in the headquarters of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized in his talk that the experience of the building of communism is whole and indivisible, and we must not lose even one valuable scrap of it. "It is a question," he said, "of using the experience of the older generations to solve the concrete problems of our own time, problems which are in many respects new and which are complicated in a new way."⁵

Summarization of the historical experience of the ideological activity of the CPSU is taking on particular importance in this connection. To be specific, in ceremonies held in Moscow commemorating the 165th anniversary of the birth and the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx B. N. Ponomarev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, called attention to this in his speech as a candidate for membership in the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. Speaking about the role of ideological work and political indoctrination under present-day conditions, the speaker remarked: "The experience of our country and of the other socialist countries shows that in every stage this work requires new and considerable efforts. It is not just a question of having to overcome a thousand years of the psychology of private ownership, which hostile propaganda has striven to revive. It is also a matter here of objective difficulties and contradictions in development of the very foundation of socialist consciousness, i.e., of social relations."⁶

We should emphasize that the CPSU is constantly turning the attention of scholars to the need to study the experience gained in the sphere of ideology. Its importance was discussed at the 26th party congress⁷ and in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological Work and Political Indoctrination" and "On the 80th Anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDRP [Russian Social-Democratic Worker Party]."⁸ The role of the systematic study and dissemination of the experience of the agitation and propaganda effort has also been emphasized at all-union forums of ideological workers--the conference in 1979⁹ and the seminar-conference in 1981.¹⁰ Attention was also called to this in the address delivered by M. V. Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the ceremonies held in the Kremlin commemorating the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDRP.¹¹

In recent years researchers have done quite a bit of work in this direction, and it can now be stated that there is no area in present-day ideological activity and political indoctrination of the CPSU in which the most valuable practices verified by experience have not made an appearance nor in which the methods used by the most skillful propagandists, agitators, interpreters of current events (politinformatory), lecturers and journalists have not been summarized in order to make these practices and methods the property of all ideological workers.

Party historians and specialists in the field of party construction have also been working vigorously in the area of studying and summarizing the experience in ideological activity gained by the CPSU.

Current problems in studying the CPSU's ideological activity were discussed not so long ago in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee in a session of the All-Union Council for Coordination of Scientific Research Work in the Field of the History of the CPSU and of Party Construction. Members of the council, directors of institutes of party history which are affiliates of the IML [Institute of Marxism-Leninism], lecturers of the AON [Academy of the Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee] and of VUZ's in RSFSR took part in the discussion. It was specifically noted in that connection that the problems of the CPSU's ideological work have been covered widely in writings on party history. Probably they take first place among all the problems which party historians have worked on. For instance, 700 out of the total of 3,500 studies on party history, i.e., 20 percent, which were published in the country in the 10th Five-Year Plan and which were devoted to this aspect of party activity treated the ideological activity of the CPSU. One out of every four monographs published in the affiliates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism is devoted to ideological work of local party organizations.

In the light of all this the editors and the CPSU History Department of IML are conducting in the pages of the journal a "round-table discussion" devoted to examination of the current problems in study of the historical experience gained in the ideological activity of the CPSU in various stages of the construction of socialism. Its purpose is to gain a familiarity if only in the most general outlines of the historical material which is available to researchers, to define the most important directions in studying the experience that has been gained, and to identify the problems whose examination requires particular attention in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the principles expressed in the addresses and statements of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and in his article entitled "The Doctrine of Karl Marx and Certain Problems Concerning the Construction of Socialism in the USSR."

The following took part in examination of these questions: Professor V. I. Kulikov, doctor of historical sciences, chief of the sector for the period of socialist construction of the CPSU History Department of IML; L. S. Leonova, doctor of historical sciences and deputy dean of the School of History of Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov; Professor V. I. Kas'yanenko, doctor of historical sciences and editor in chief of the journal VOPROSY

ISTORII KPSS; I. S. Kulikova, candidate of historical sciences and senior scientific associate of IML; S. I. Mokshin, candidate of historical sciences and editor for the department of the history of the international communist and worker movement of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS; Professor V. V. Ukraintsev, doctor of historical sciences and department head at the All-Union Correspondence Institute of Trade; A. L. Vodolagina, candidate of historical sciences and senior scientific associate of IML; L. I. Prokova, candidate of historical sciences and senior scientific associate of IML; Professor S. A. Andronov, doctor of historical sciences and senior scientific associate of IML; A. S. Smol'nikov, candidate of historical sciences and senior scientific associate of IML; I. V. Il'ina, candidate of historical sciences and senior scientific associate of IML; Ye. F. Agafonov, candidate of historical sciences and senior scientific associate of IML; V. I. Glotov, academic secretary of the CPSU History Department of IML; I. N. Ksenefontov, senior scientific associate of IML; V. V. Shinkarenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and editor for the department of the history and theory of party construction of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS; and L. F. Morozov, doctor of historical sciences and senior scientific associate of IML.

V. I. Kulikov: On the Role of the Party's Ideological Activity in the Formation and Consolidation of Socialism

The Marxist-Leninist parties have always considered and do now consider it their most important practical task to instill communist ideas in the consciousness of the working masses. The Great October Socialist Revolution was a period in which a radical change of direction in performance of this task took place in our country. In the period of preparation of the revolution and during it the party's ideological activity was one of the decisive factors ensuring its triumph. The October Revolution convincingly confirmed that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the proletariat's class struggle and of a party which unites the mass revolutionary workers' movement with scientific socialism is an unshakable foundation of the victorious struggle for socialism.

V. I. Lenin turned attention to this aspect of historical experience in evaluating the importance of the theory of scientific socialism to the victory of the October Revolution and the destinies of the world revolutionary liberation movement. He wrote: "The theory of Marxism, elucidated by the bright light of the abundant recent worldwide experience of the revolutionary workers, has helped us to understand the complete pattern of what has occurred. It helps the proletarians of the entire world who are fighting to overthrow capitalistic wage slavery to concede the goal of their struggle more clearly, to march with a firmer step along the road already marked out, and to snatch victory and consolidate the triumph more confidently and stalwartly."¹²

The October Revolution marked the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and revealed the importance of propaganda and agitation, of the Bolshevik press and of all the forms of mass-political work to the mobilization and rallying of the workers in the struggle against the system of exploitation and oppression. With the victory of October, with the taking of political power by the proletariat and with the transformation of the Bolshevik party

into the ruling party, it came to confront complicated and ramified problems, the most difficult among them—"how as a practical matter to accomplish the transition from the old, the familiar capitalism which everyone was accustomed to, to the new, to the socialism which had not been born and which did not have a stable basis."¹³

The party was called upon to respond to the main question of social practice--the fundamental importance of the building of socialism in one country that had lagged behind the leading capitalist countries in economic terms and in which the peasant population was in the immense majority.¹⁴ Once the specific pathways of the country's socialist development had been substantiated in theory, it was then necessary to mobilize all the workers and to rally them in organizational and ideological terms around the platform of building real socialism. This was a formidable task, one which not a single proletarian party had had an occasion to perform.

The party's entire ideological effort changed essentially with the victory of October. Whereas in the course of the revolution the party had with its help raised the masses up to overthrow the existing system of exploitation, in the post-October period its content was oriented toward consolidating the achievements of the revolution and toward building the socialist society.

Once it had become the political leader of the new society, the party extended its ideological influence over the work of the soviets, the trade unions, the youth organizations, all news media organs, the system of public education, cultural institutions, and the field of literature and art. All of this, of course, necessitated new forms and methods in the organization of ideological work and political indoctrination and an expansion of its scale.

At the same time there was a need for theoretical treatment of many new problems in construction of the new social system and for study of the very way in which the ideological effort was set up under the altered concrete-historical conditions.

As a result of fruitful theoretical ideological work the party provided answers to the most important socioeconomic and political questions and questions of government. The problems of social development if worked on were related to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, to creation of a multinational state, to working out the forms of proletarian democracy, to defining the place and role of the proletarian party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ways and methods of accomplishing its leadership in the bodies of government and in public organizations, and to the struggle for expansion and consolidation of the social and economic basis of socialism. It defined the main directions for development of the socialist economy and for society's social and cultural transformation and it revealed the role of social consciousness in the building of socialism.

In ideological activity following the victory of October the party set itself the task of "helping the proletariat perform its role of educator, organizer and leader."¹⁵ As is well known, for a number of objective reasons, socioeconomic reasons first of all, the proletariat was not homogeneous in

its composition.¹⁶ Yet reality urgently demanded that specifically the working class become most fully aware of its leading role in society so that it would figure as a monolithic entity in creation of the new system, presenting the pathways of future social development in an altogether intelligible way.

Ideological activity was based on the exceedingly important Marxist-Leninist principle that destruction of the old system is a more or less lengthy process, that construction of the new begins and occurs simultaneously with destruction of the old. The party was aware that the transition from capitalism to socialism constituted a qualitative leap in social development, one which could not occur through the natural flow of events, automatically and spontaneously. It was to be guaranteed by the well-organized, systematic and purposive work of the party and the people in all areas of life--in the economy, in politics and in ideology.

The party's activity in ideological theory was called upon to scientifically substantiate the pathways of construction of the socialist society and bring them to the awareness of the masses on the basis of an analysis of the concrete-historical conditions, summarization of revolutionary experience and its creative application. V. I. Lenin and the party armed the working class and all the workers with a thorough understanding of the patterns of the struggle to build the new society and demonstrated that those general patterns are manifested in the concrete situation, in the midst of the great diversity of historical, economic, social, political and geographic conditions and factors. Guided by the doctrine of K. Marx, V. I. Lenin and the party showed that the road to socialism constitutes a complicated process of transition from the lower forms of its social organization to the higher.

"The ideologues of the bourgeoisie and of reformism," Yu. V. Andropov has noted, "have to this day been building entire systems of arguments in an attempt to prove that the new society created in the USSR and in the other fraternal countries has turned out not to correspond to that image of socialism which had been evident to Marx. Their interpretation is that reality has allegedly diverged from the ideal. But consciously or out of ignorance they lose sight of the fact that Marx himself, in working out his doctrine, was least of all guided by the requirements of any abstract ideal of a pristine and polished 'socialism.' He derived his conceptions of the future system from an analysis of the objective contradictions of large-scale capitalist production. It was that approach, the only scientific approach, which made it possible for him to correctly determine the basic features of the society which had yet to be born in the cleansing thunderstorms of the social revolutions in the 20th century."¹⁷

Elaborating the doctrine of K. Marx concerning the stages of evolution of communist society, V. I. Lenin creatively elucidated the principle of the two phases of the construction of communism. In the first phase it emerges from the bowels of capitalist society, retaining its birthmarks, while in the second socialism is already developing on its own foundation.

V. I. Lenin referred to these stages as levels of socialism's maturity.¹⁸ The doctrine of the phases of socialist society was to become a major

contribution to the theory of scientific communism, determined the future direction in which Marxist-Leninist thought as a whole would develop, and was one of the unshakable scientific foundations of the party's practical activity under the conditions of socialism.

Historical experience convincingly indicates the growing importance of the party's activity in ideological theory during the period of socialist construction and of the greater role of socialist ideology, which is an expression of the vital interests of the working class. Socialist ideology arose as a theoretical generalization of the experience of the revolutionary movement and of the class struggle of the proletariat. One of its essential traits is the permanent tie with social practice. Guaranteeing thorough scientific generalization of revolutionary experience gathered in the course of building the new system—that is the task which V. I. Lenin and the party set for ideological work even under the conditions of the construction of socialism.

V. I. Lenin's creative elaboration of the Marxist principle that it is not people's consciousness which determines the conditions of their life, but the other way around, their social reality determines their consciousness, has paramount importance to determining the role of ideology in the evolution of the new system. Ideology is an integral part of the superstructure and arises as an expression in people's consciousness of their social reality. But at a certain level it in turn exerts an influence on the development of society, either holding back or speeding up that process.

Ideological work in the transitional period was structured so as to take into account the forms and peculiarities of development of the classes and the class struggle. In defining its tasks the party took as its point of departure the new alignment of class forces in the country and the fact that establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat still did not signify destruction of classes and the dying out of the class struggle. "The destruction of classes," V. I. Lenin wrote in May 1919, "is a matter for lengthy, difficult and persistent class struggle, which after the overthrow of the rule of capital, after destruction of the bourgeois state, and after establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not disappear (as supposed by the followers of the old socialism and the old social-democracy), but only alters their forms, becoming still fiercer in many respects."¹⁹

In material for the pamphlet entitled "On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" V. I. Lenin defined the five most important tasks and the five corresponding new forms of class struggle in the transitional period which had come to replace the old ones which were proper to capitalist society: suppression of the opposition of the exploiters as the content of the entire transitional period; the civil war; "neutralization" of the petit bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry; "use" of the bourgeoisie of the "specialists"; and instilling new discipline.²⁰

V. I. Lenin convincingly demonstrated in this connection that the principal difficulty of the transitional period lay in the more fierce opposition of the exploiting classes which have been overthrown, in the need to overcome

this resistance and to liquidate attempts to restore the old orders. The transition from capitalism to socialism (at first particularly) was accompanied by acute class struggle, and in its ideological activity the party gave an important place to explaining to the workers the issues related to suppression of the exploiting classes overthrown during the revolution, to disarming and breaking up the old government apparatus, and to building the new social system.

While noting the influence of socialist ideology on the course of social development, it should be emphasized that it was determined and is determined by the role which the working class plays in social progress. As the ideology of the ascendant class to which the future belongs, socialist ideology on the one hand is sensitive in detecting and giving scientific expression to everything that is new and promising and that exists in reality, while on the other it resolutely opposes bourgeois ideology, which is trying to justify and defend capitalist relations.

Socialist ideology also offers vigorous opposition to all covert and camouflaged attempts to poison the consciousness of the masses with illusions of various kinds. V. I. Lenin and the party waged a resolute struggle against opportunists who had distorted and falsified Marxism. The victory of the revolution demonstrated the complete unsoundness and political noxiousness of the various theories of opportunism. The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries [SR's] became outright enemies of Soviet power and joined the White Guards and foreign interventionists in fighting it with guns in their hands. At the same time they did not cease attempts to exert ideological influence on the consciousness of the working class and the working masses.

In the first years after the victory of October the party waged a struggle mainly against "leftwing" opportunism. Its representatives expressed the disposition of the petit bourgeoisie of the city and countryside. V. I. Lenin called the "leftwing communists" a tool of imperialist provocation as to their objective role and referred to their psychology as the psychology of a petit bourgeois gone mad.²¹ V. I. Lenin showed that even after establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat the struggle against opportunism in all its manifestations is also one of the most important tasks of the party's ideological activity. "Opportunism," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is our main enemy. Opportunism at the top levels of the worker movement; this is not proletarian socialism, but bourgeois socialism."²²

The system of socialist views of the development of society could be established in reality once and for all only through a fierce struggle against bourgeois ideology. But this implacable struggle had nothing in common with a blanket denial of the progressive cultural legacy of the past. It is of the greatest credit to V. I. Lenin and the party that they furnished a strictly scientific substantiation of the attitude of the new society toward the ideological legacy of the past under the conditions of the transitional period. This attitude was determined by the inherently class and party approach to evaluation of the phenomena of social life and to cultural possession. Only such an approach made it possible to put all the riches of culture in the broad sense of that word at the service of the working classes building the new society.

The party's ideological activity in the transitional period was aimed above all at raising further the level of party members as to ideological theory and at closing party ranks. After the victory of October quite a few petit bourgeois fellow travelers, especially those who had dropped out of the parties of the Mensheviks, the SR's and the Bundists, had sprung up in the ranks of the party, and quite often they later became members of oppositionist groups. Sometimes young party members who did not have enough experience of revolutionary struggle were also drawn over to the opposition. In the process of its ideological activity the party saw that young communists received ideological-political hardening and inculcated in them an implacable attitude toward hostile influence.

The vigorous constructive role of socialist ideology in the evolution of the new social system was also determined by the very direction of the foreign policy of the young Soviet state in that from the very first days of its existence it consistently followed the Leninist program of peace and resolutely opposed the aggressive intrigues of imperialism.

Historical experience provides evidence that the socialist ideology is an ideology of peace and friendship among peoples. At the same time the peaceful coexistence of states with a different social system, as V. I. Lenin taught, does not signify by any means a weakening of the ideological struggle on the international scene or of the struggle against the apologists of capitalism. On the contrary, conduct of the policy of peaceful coexistence is possible only by strengthening in every way the ideological positions of the proletariat, by developing further the foundations of socialist ideology, and by the party's performance of a system of organizational measures to that end.

The enlargement of the role of ideological work with the advent of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism was determined by the needs of the shaping and development of socialist society. The constructive activity of the proletarian state and the leading, organizing and guiding role of the Communist Party--the vanguard of the working class--had decisive importance in this.

The new socialist society was built on a scientific foundation and was based on the knowledge and use of the laws of socioeconomic and sociopolitical development. The party's theoretical work on the problems of the pathways of socialist construction, formation of a systematic scientific outlook in the broadest strata of the builders of the new system, and use of the entire diversity of the forms of ideological work to mobilize the masses in the construction of socialism took on particular relevance in this connection.

The practice of the revolutionary struggle raised ever more urgently a task of immense historic importance--seeing that socialist ideology of the working class became the systematic outlook of the entire Soviet people. This could be performed only by the Leninist party of communists. In the process of the practical performance of this task, which required a great organizational effort and took a long time, the party was constantly gaining experience in ideological activity in all its directions and, relying on that experience, it was constantly perfecting the various areas and spheres of ideological work and political indoctrination.

Our party's historical experience has international significance. After all, its core, as noted by M. V. Zimyanin in the ceremonies in the Kremlin commemorating the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDRP, is the "successful solution of the fundamental problems which inevitably confront any country which sets out on the road of socialist transformations."²³

A study of the experience gained by the party is inseparable from a thorough and comprehensive study of the historic role of ideological activity in socialist construction, in the improvement of advanced socialism, and in performing the tasks outlined at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, from a study of the ways of increasing the effectiveness and raising the quality of the ideological work of party organizations.

L. S. Leonova: Out of the Experience of Training Cadres for Ideological Work in the 1917-1925 Period

In summarizing the historical experience of the CPSU in the field of ideological work and political indoctrination in the light of the tasks set at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it is important not to lose sight of the training of ideological cadres. As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov remarked at the plenum, this is one of the main concerns in ideological work.²⁴ In striving to make its ideological influence more effective, the party has always attributed great importance to the training of ideological workers capable of elaborating scientific theory and imparting it to the masses.

In the first days of Soviet power the party organized the training of leading ideological cadres, propagandists and agitators through courses and party schools. The party Central Committee oriented party committees toward discovering promising workers, pointing out that one of the most important tasks of party cells lies "in deepening the information and knowledge of those comrades who have come over quite definitely to our platform," that it is indispensable "to set themselves the task of deepening party knowledge for developing and training new cadres of workers to replace the elderly and experienced comrades leaving our ranks daily."²⁵

In the years of the Civil War the schools and courses underwent a considerable evolution. In March 1919 the Central School for Soviet Work of VTSIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] was reorganized as the Central School of Soviet and Party Work, and in July 1919 renamed Communist University imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov.

It is significant then in early 1920 the issue was raised in essence at the Communist University of turning it into a teaching methods center for all the country's party educational institutions. The attachment to the Communist University as lecturers of the best party forces, who were aware that "lecturing at the university is one of the important party duties," was regarded as a condition for creating the Higher Party School of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Central Committee, "which would at any moment inform the province, furnish it lectures, prospectuses, programs and lecturers."²⁶

The Socialist (later Communist) Academy of Social Sciences--the country's first institution for scientific treatment of the problems of revolutionary theory and for training party theorists, was created in June 1918. By March 1921 there were 45 guberniya and 29 uyezd party-Soviet schools in operation.

V. I. Lenin deserves immense credit in organizing the leading party educational institutions, in shaping the ideological-political orientation of the lecturing, in defining the concrete content and character of studies in party educational institutions, and in preparing Marxist textbooks.

Subjects shaping the communist world view of the students occupy the central place in the distribution of class time. Even short courses and party schools in the first years of Soviet power, which were called upon to train cadres of ideological workers to perform the most immediate practical tasks, set the task of giving them a conception of the foundations of scientific communism and of the history of the Communist Party.

At the same time the study was so structured as to also furnish practical working skills. For example, the students of the party department of the Central School of Soviet and Party Work who were enrolled in the agitation section worked up a specific topic in their workshops and then presented a paper on it to their group. The papers were judged from the standpoint of how well they showed a differentiated approach to the listeners, whether the content of the talk corresponded to the topic selected; and note was taken of strong points and weak points in the composition. In subsequent stages of the workshops the students participated in rallies organized within the school, they spoke in assemblies of workers, and they took part in various campaigns conducted by the local committee of the RKP(b).

The 10th party congress, which outlined measures to set up the system of party educational institutions, played a particular role in organizing the training of ideological cadres. Later these questions were taken up at all party congresses in the period 1922-1925 as well as in the staff of the party's Central Committee. Here is a typical example. Just between 15 September and November 1922 there were 96 items on the agenda of the Agitation-Propaganda Department of the RKP(b) Central Committee concerning the work of komvuzes [communist higher educational institution].²⁷ The unified system for training party and Soviet cadres which the party created included the Soviet-party schools at the first and second levels and the communist universities, so that provision was made in this way for differentiated study. In the Soviet-party schools at the first level (with a 3-month course of study for worker rayons and a 4-month course for peasant rayons) the students received elementary political knowledge. The Soviet-party schools at the second level, in which the course of study lasted 1 year, equipped the students with varied knowledge in the field of scientific communism and gave the foundations of general education. The communist universities, which were based on a 3-year course of study, prepared highly educated Marxists.²⁸

The Institute of the Red Professoriat [IKP], which was set up at the initiative of V. I. Lenin, played an important role in training the party's ideological cadres. Under a decree of the Sovnarkom [Council of People's

Commissars] dated 11 February 1921 and entitled "On Establishing Institutes for Training the Red Professoriat" the task of the IKP was to train the red professoriat "to give lectures in the republic's schools of higher education in theoretical economics, historical materialism, the development of social forms, the most recent history and Soviet construction."²⁹ But the boundaries of the activity of graduates of the IKP proved to be more broad--in addition to scientific and teaching activity, they worked in central party and Soviet institutions and in the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines. The graduates of the IKP proved themselves to be both talented academics and also formidable party organizers.

After the Civil War ended, when the tasks of the constructive activity of the party moved into the foreground, an understanding of the nature of socioeconomic processes, skill in managing economic construction in practice, and the ability to understand and explain to the masses the distinctive features of the struggle between socialism and capitalism under the new conditions took on paramount importance for party personnel; in that period the role of theoretical and historical disciplines and of the practice of party and Soviet construction was enhanced in the training of personnel. Subject matter related to conducting New Economic Policy occupied a large place.³⁰

The selection and training of lecturers was a crucial part of the party's work in setting up and developing party educational institutions. The best theorists and propagandists and the most important scholars were recruited to train ideological cadres. V. I. Lenin spoke more than once to the students of the Communist University imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov. At the same time that it used the existing cadres of the intelligentsia, among whom the leading role belonged to the old guard of the party, the party carried on a vigorous program to train new ranks of lecturers. The IKP, courses in Marxism associated with the Communist Academy, and groups of lecturers from komvuzes and Soviet-party schools played a large role in training cadres of lecturers in the social sciences.

The writing of Marxist textbooks for the party educational institutions was an important direction in the activity of the party to train ideological cadres. Plans for the publication of textbooks and teaching aids, which were ordered to be written by decisions of the secretariat of the RKP(b) Central Committee, were drawn up with the direct participation and supervision of the Central Committee's Agitation-Propaganda Department.³¹ In the first half of the twenties a whole series of textbooks and teaching aids were published on various problems of the social and economic sciences.

The 13th party conference and 13th Congress of the RKP(b) were to be important landmarks in improvement of the training of ideological cadres. The conference noted that one of the main ways of raising the political-ideological level of party members was thorough study of the history of the RKP(b) and of the experience of Bolshevism's struggle against Menshevism.³² The 13th RKP(b) Congress emphasized the need for more thorough study of Leninism "as the most perfectly elaborated doctrine of Marx." The congress proposed that all teaching come closer "to covering the tasks of the present-day struggle and revolutionary construction."³³

Concentration of qualified party personnel and scholars in the party educational institutions determined their role as most important centers for development and popularization of Marxist-Leninist theory and for the struggle against ideology hostile to socialism.

Thus by the end of the period of recovery the system of party educational institutions, which made a sizable contribution to training the party's ideological cadres, had mainly been created. The types of party schools had been defined, their basic objectives had been specifically stated, the principles for recruitment of students had been spelled out, a great deal of work had been done to draw up syllabi, to prepare textbooks and teaching aids, to improve teaching methods and forms of instruction, to strengthen the ties between teaching and life, and the foundations had been laid on the scale of the entire state for the planned training of ideological cadres multinational in their composition, effective forms had been found for political-ideological and organizational supervision of the construction of the party educational institutions. All of this unquestionably deserves the most fixed attention of researchers when they study the historical experience of the party in the field of ideological work and political indoctrination.

V. I. Kas'yanenko: On Studying the Subject Matter of Instilling Socialist Ethics and Discipline in the Work Sphere

In taking up the problems of studying the experience of the CPSU accumulated in the process of instilling the socialist work ethics and discipline, it has to be noted that written Soviet history contains abundant literature on the role of V. I. Lenin, on the party in socialist organization of work, on development of competition and the shock work movement, which cannot unfortunately be said of the history of shaping the work ethic and discipline of workers in city and countryside. As a rule in touching upon this topic most historians of the CPSU have written only in generalities about the change in the ethical makeup of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, about measures to strengthen work discipline at enterprises. Yet there are quite a body of party documents, abundant factual material making it possible to elucidate in a new way, in the light of the tasks set by the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the historical experience of the CPSU in establishing the norms and principles of communist ethics in the work sphere and experience in shaping the new socialist work discipline.

In studying it it is important to understand correctly the nature of social and economic functions of the socialist work ethic and its role and interaction with production discipline and the moral-psychological atmosphere within collectives. In our opinion the point of departure should be that the work ethic is a particular set of principles, moral aspirations and convictions manifested in the norms and principles of behavior in the work sphere of social life which are typical of socialism. Its economic function is the aspiration to raise labor productivity, concern about production efficiency and product quality, the effort to fulfill plans and obligations, and active participation in optimizing production. The social function of the work ethic is to instill in people a spirit of socialist discipline, collectivism and cooperation, a sense of duty to society and to the collective for the overall success of work.

Historical experience teaches us that the principles and norms of the socialist work ethic are not a compendium of hard and fast rules or dogmas which apply to all cases which arise in work life. They undergo development and enrichment in every concrete-historical situation, together with production and those who participate in it. The socialist organization of work is called upon to guarantee more effective operation of the norms and rules of the work ethic. Ideological indoctrination, proper use of the laws of the state, and public opinion have, of course, a large role in this.

The socialist work ethic was shaped and developed on the basis of public ownership of the means of production, in the context of new social relations, above all of common goals and interests, under the influence of constant political indoctrination, and popularization of the principles, norms and rules of socialist intercourse and the best traditions and patriotic deeds of the working class. All of the work in political indoctrination done by party, trade union and Komsomol organizations was aimed at enhancing the ethical maturity of the workingman, at giving urban and rural workers an understanding of civic duty and civil rights, at observance of moral principles and norms of socialist intercourse.

The work ethic, which is an integral part of the moral consciousness of society, has a clearly pronounced political-ideological and class character. In socialist society it is imbued with a spirit of authentic humanism, collectivism and comradely cooperation, implacability toward exploitation, parasitism, sponging, stealing, and other antisocial manifestations. It is inseparable from relations in distribution, from the shaping of sensible needs.

The works of V. I. Lenin and documents of the party contain exceedingly rich material for study of the problem. For example, they contain instructions as to the need to establish in factories and plants comradely cooperation and mutual exactingness, support and development of socialist collectivism and competition, display of concern about women and apprentices in production, about the new replenishment of the working class (mainly from the peasantry), about engineering and technical specialists, etc. They repeatedly have an up-to-date ring. Take just the letter of the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Central Committee to all party organizations entitled "On Raising Work Discipline" (February 1929). It states: "The businesslike creative self-criticism of the masses, as a tool for correcting shortcomings and to provide help in our work at the basic areas of construction, must be aimed mainly at removing all obstacles holding back the rise of labor productivity and the drop of the production cost, and against slackness, idleness, breaches of work discipline, concealment of productivity, against idle time and rejects, and in behavior of conscious and persistent work at the socialist enterprises of the worker state."³⁴

A study of historical experience allows one to draw a conclusion to the effect that the work ethic, reflecting the new conditions of people's everyday life, is not formed spontaneously, as a consequence of the production relations and sociopolitical relations. These relations do, of course, stand as objective conditions of its formation. But to a considerable degree establishment of the new ethic depends on systematic ideological-ethical, legal

and administrative indoctrination of the people. Ethics itself is at the same time a vigorous factor acting upon work and work relations in the direction of establishing control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption.

Social practice shows that ethics and labor stand in a complicated dialectical interdependent and interactive relationship and are constantly enriching one another. Their basis in a socialist society are the new social relations, the rising level of people's prosperity and cultural development, the wholesome moral-psychological atmosphere in society and in the workplace, the constantly improving conditions for work activity, and the high political-ideological and moral attributes of the workers.

We should note that in the process of the construction of socialism, which is typified by superseding the numerous contradictions and difficulties and remnants of the past, people's active view on life is shaped in the principal sphere of life--the sphere of production; new ethical principles are established in the attitude toward work and toward the collective and toward fulfillment of production assignments and obligations. The socialist work ethic and discipline guarantee a high level of organization of the workers, their participation in competition and other creative forms of activity, and they contribute to the combination of material and moral incentives. They are incompatible with manifestations of sponging and parasitism on the humanism of our system, with any sort of breaches of labor law and work rules, with manifestations of mismanagement and a negligent attitude toward public property, and with ignorance of the work traditions and public opinion of collectives.

V. I. Lenin and the party never oversimplified the matter of creating the material and moral-psychological conditions for introduction of the socialist organization of work and work discipline, for instilling the new work ethic, nor did they try to shorten the time required for these processes in an artificial way.

At the First Congress of Economic Councils (May 1918) V. I. Lenin said that developing the new comradely discipline "will take an entire historical epoch," that the conscious workers and peasants would create the discipline of unified work "not by order from above," but on their own initiative. "This is a task of immense difficulty, and it is therefore a noble task, because only when we perform it in practice will the last stake be driven into the grave of the capitalist society we have buried."³⁵ Historical experience fully confirms Lenin's prediction about the complexity and difficulties of displacing the morality, psychology and habits of the old society.

It should in general be emphasized that V. I. Lenin always linked the tasks of shaping the new work discipline with the moral-psychological factors in people's work and behavior, with the specific tasks of party members, and he moreover did this with his inherent energy and party fervor. "Where is the black book in which the backward factories are entered, those which following the nationalization have remained models of disorder, disintegration, filth, hooliganism and sponging, where is it? There is none," Lenin wrote in September 1918. "But such factories do exist. We will not be able to carry out

our duty without waging war against these 'custodians of the traditions of capitalism.' We are not communists, but ragpickers, so long as we tolerate such factories in silence."³⁶ How much strength and how much militant emphasis there is in these words of the leader of the revolution!

By creating the necessary material conditions and through the organization and indoctrination of the masses V. I. Lenin set the goal of building conscious discipline and the work ethic corresponding to the principles of scientific socialism. He considered organization and indoctrination to be the principal methods of building the new work discipline. Coercion was only for spongers, idlers, shirkers and self-seekers. It is no accident that Vladimir Il'ich saw in the Communist Saturdays the sprouts of a new attitude toward work, the manifestation of the class character and educational mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat.³⁷

In studying the historical experience of the CPSU there is an essential importance in not losing sight of the fact that in implementing the Leninist conception of communist ideals and the norms of the work ethic and the new work discipline the party had to overcome anti-Marxist theories and recommendations of the "leftwing" party members, the Trotskyites, the leaders of the "worker" opposition and advocates of the idea of spontaneous (in the train of the economy) development of the workers' ethics, psychology and everyday life. This historical triumph of the party over unscientific and vulgarist theories of the new organization of work and discipline, which quite often were inhumane in the means of realizing their ends has not been very much represented in the history that has been written. Meanwhile experience and contemporary practice indicate their topicality.

It would also be worthwhile to study that great number of different forms and methods of the fight to strengthen the socialist work ethic and discipline which emerged as the result of the rise of the creative activity of urban and rural workers over the entire transitional period. They sprung up on the basis of socialist production relations and improvement of the material and cultural conditions of life, with the constant support of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. In various ways they serve the interests of establishing the new work ethic and discipline and the interests of combating losses of worktime and personnel turnover.³⁸ Yet on the whole they actively contributed to inculcating the new work ethic, to creating a particular moral-psychological atmosphere, which was based on social optimism, collective work and comradely cooperation, intolerance toward breaches of work discipline and the antipodes of communist morality, and finally, they deserve the closest attention of researchers.

The vanguard role of party members shaping socialist work discipline and the socialist work ethic deserves special study. Attention has been repeatedly turned to this aspect of the problem at party congresses. For instance, the 15th VKP(b) Congress pointed out that "party members, regardless of what posts they hold--from running a machine tool to the highest bodies leading the country--must set an example of work heroism, work discipline, of strenuous, efficient and wisely organized work."³⁹

Historical experience teaches us that socialist ownership of the means of production, liquidation of exploitation and the alienation of labor, establishment of labor as the principal sphere of people's lives, the manifestation of the new social and moral-psychological nature of labor, the equality of all its types, and the related elimination of unemployment had a direct impact on formation of the new work ethic, toward enhancing the role of labor as the most important means of nurturing the personality of the socialist type, and help to establish the socialist way of life and its collectivist principles.

More thorough research would make it possible to trace the way in which these objective factors, in combination with the purposive ideological and indoctrination work of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, were conducive to the rapid growth of the work activity of workers and the farm labor force. Both industry and collectivism, feelings of comradeship and civic work duty, thrift and intolerance of breaches of the norms and rules of socialist intercourse, and the other ethical attributes of the Soviet man were reinforced above all in the process of work activity.

Research shows that the very rapid development of the Stakhanov movement--the highest form of competition in the transitional period--became convincing confirmation of the correctness of the labor policy of the Communist Party and Soviet state, a splendid demonstration of the advantages of socialist production relations and the high moral attributes of the working class. The entire history of the formation of socialist ethical and labor relations in the USSR contained a countless multitude of examples of high moral qualities manifested by the Soviet people, of the transformation of labor not only into a reliable source of the means of existence, but into a question of honor, of valor, of heroism and of moral duty. With the victory of socialism in the USSR the work ethic became the principal element in regulating society's work activity and one of the effective factors in the performance of production tasks and the tasks of education, in the formation of the moral image of the builders of communism.

In the course of socialist construction the Communist Party and Soviet state, with the active support of the conscious worker, achieved successful interaction of economic, social, organizational and educational processes which shaped the work ethic and work discipline.

A study of the history of the formation of the socialist work ethic and work discipline allow us to frame the conclusion that in the thirties the party created a comprehensive system for instilling in the workers of the USSR the spirit of the principles, rules and norms of socialism, including improvement of living and working conditions, material and moral incentives, moral-educational and administrative pressure, the influence of work collectives and public opinion, popularization of the know-how of front rankers, etc. This was precisely the goal of the decisions of the party on the questions of development of socialist competition and the Stakhanov movement, improvement of the communist indoctrination of the workers, reinforcement of work discipline, improvement of the practice of social insurance and of working conditions, introduction of workbooks, and closer monitoring of expenditure of wage funds.⁴⁰

It is accordingly becoming clear that the activity of the Communist Party as the leader, ensuring a social creativity of the masses and their moral renewal that was unprecedented in history, deserves more extensive and deeper study. After all, it is only thanks to this that the indissoluble unity of politics, morality and culture, the alliance of physical and mental labor, were formed in our society in a short time, and the ethical and cultural abundance of spiritual life was guaranteed under the conditions of socialism.

It seems necessary to note that the party, taking into account the fact of the victory of socialism and establishment of moral-political unity in the USSR, even at the 13th congress defined the tasks involved in the future development of the new society. The main one advanced among them was "the job of the communist indoctrination of the workers, overcoming the remnants of capitalism in the consciousness of the people who are the builders of socialism."⁴¹

At the same time the party alerted the Soviet people to the difficulties of the transition from socialism to communism under the conditions of the hostile capitalist encirclement. Socialist society had many economic, scientific-technical and moral-political problems ahead of it; it had to raise the prosperity of the people, strengthen work discipline even more, and put an end to the struggle against the remnants of the hostile elements and survivals of capitalism. The subsequent development of Soviet society has fully confirmed the correctness of those forecasts.

"With the termination of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, with the strengthening of the new socialist way of life," Yu. V. Andropov has written, "the sharpest social conflicts in society, which are ultimately based on its division into hostile classes, are overcome. But this conclusion has nothing in common with that oversimplified and politically naive conception to the effect that socialism implies an escape in general from all contradictions and differences, from all the messiness of life. Incidentally, our ideological adversaries are exploiting this conception in their own way when they attempt to discredit the new system by pointing to the fact that in it there are both difficulties and disappointments in people's lives, and sometimes the struggle of the new and old is not a bit easy."⁴²

In studying the historical experience of the CPSU gained in the field of ideological and mass-political work, and doing so moreover in accordance with the tasks which have been set for party historians by the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, one cannot ignore the fact that the continuity not only of constructive elements, but also of adverse elements, has always been inherent in the processes of the formation of the socialist work ethic and conscious discipline when they are looked at from the historical angle. The adverse elements have persisted spontaneously--at first because of the low initial economic and cultural level from which the struggle for socialism began, and then because of a certain historical inertia, conservatism, habits and traditions remaining from the old society. V. I. Lenin wisely called the attention of the working class and party to the fact that "the strength of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most awesome force,"⁴³ that the

job of remaking the petty-owner "psychology and habits is a task that will take generations."⁴⁴ The experience of the transitional period confirms these conclusions of Lenin's. It is now quite clear that the moral-psychological foundations of life and work are transformed considerably more slowly than sociopolitical and material foundations.

Socialist society has not yet fully liberated itself of adverse phenomena pertaining to work and consumption, public ownership, nor adherence to the norms and rules of the work ethic and work discipline. Although these phenomena are constantly under its eye and under the growing influence of the party and state, they are making themselves felt even today.

The CPSU has always striven and is now striving in the formation of new ethical relations to take into account on the one hand the growing role of the moral factor in evaluation of people's work activity and on the other the spread of man's ethically conscious actions, his active position in life. The social welfare policy of the Soviet state, competition, the laws of the Soviet state, public opinion, and the new collective forms of work have been aimed at shaping moral work incentives and a feeling of responsibility to society. Experience in the transitional period showed that unless the appropriate conditions obtain, unless a high level of moral education and conscious discipline is achieved, even all the collective forms of work do not yield the desired constructive effect, which inevitably has an impact on the character of distributive relations in society.

But because the historical aspects of the topic have not been studied vigorously enough, because of poor cooperation among social scientists, the history of the formation of the moral-political unity of Soviet society, of establishment of socialist ethics and discipline in the workplace, and of distribution through their interaction has not yet been written. Historians cannot limit themselves now to general judgments and conclusions on these matters, without showing the patterns, the moving forces, contradictions and difficulties in development of our society, without revealing the historical roots of certain contemporary phenomena in the workplace and in the sphere of consumption. Unless they do do that, it is difficult to determine the historical place of advanced socialism and the present-day frontiers of its socialist maturity, "to see our society in its real dynamic behavior, with all its possibilities and needs...."⁴⁵

The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee confirmed once again in a very obvious way that the formation in the workers of high political-ideological and moral attributes, of an active attitude in life, of unity between words and needs, of a conscious attitude toward social duty, of implacability toward breaches of the norms of the socialist work ethic, has been and remains a programmatic goal of the party. Correcting shortcomings and overcoming difficulties so as to take into account the real capabilities is a task whose time has come in the further improvement of advanced socialist society and of the entire ideological and mass-political work of the CPSU.

It is clear that unless we correctly understand the history of the solution of these problems scientifically sound and efficient performance of

contemporary tasks concerning the work, ethical and political-ideological education of the workers advanced by the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee is not possible. Summarization of the historical experience of the formation of communist ethics and work discipline is indispensable to clarifying the nature of these tasks, to invigorating the fight against apologists of bourgeois ideology and ethics, against the antipodes of the Soviet working way of life, and to increasing the effectiveness of the party's entire work at ideological indoctrination.

I. S. Kulikova: On Studying the Experience of Political-Indoctrination Among the Peasants in the Years of the Economic Recovery

A study of the experience of the party's political-indoctrination work aimed at guaranteeing realization of the New Economic Policy [NEP] and at economic recovery is of considerable scientific and practical interest in the light of the tasks set by the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.⁴⁶ In that period the party continued to raise the requirements concerning the content of mass-political work, raising the issue of making it more specific, of closer ties with reality, with solving the key problems of the national economy. The party documents spoke about the need for teaching the workers and peasants the job of building socialism in practice. The effectiveness of agitation and propaganda was achieved by making them more discernible and better argued in every way and by bringing in factual and statistical material.

There was also a change in the character of mass-agitation work. Instead of shock mobilization, agitation through rallies, the system of military commands typical of the period of the Civil War, new methods of operation were introduced which were characterized by their conformity to a plan, their systematic nature, and the individual approach. "It is not a crash effort that we need, but method, planning and system," A. S. Bubnov, chief of the Agitation-Propaganda Department of the RKP(b) Central Committee, emphasized.⁴⁷

It is of particular interest to a researcher to trace how the new forms of work introduced into the practice of agitation and propaganda in connection with the transition to peaceful construction retained their importance over the entire transitional period and underwent modification in accordance with the specific historical situation.

And, of course, a study of the experience of political indoctrination work among the peasants deserves particular attention. Party decisions in the early twenties repeatedly emphasized that this work in rural areas must be based on combination of political-educational measures with a rise of agricultural production, with specific aid to rural areas. The soviets, cooperatives, peasant committees, and cultural and educational institutions were the point of support of Soviet power in rural areas, a conductor of party influence in rural areas, a place for bringing together the poor and middle masses of the peasantry. In the first years of the NEP these organizations were strengthened, kulak-SR elements were squeezed out, the impoverished masses were involved in their work, and the party stratum was bolstered there. The reading huts had a large role in rural areas in the performance of mass-cultural work. The 11th RKP(b) Congress called for the reading huts to be

revived everywhere and turned into centers for "informing the broad masses of the peasantry correctly and regularly about the political life of the country (regular delivery of newspapers, reading them out loud, conversations, and so on)." ⁴⁸

The reading hut did an immense job in combating the illiteracy of the peasantry, which had great political importance and strengthened the positions of the poor peasantry in the fierce class struggle that was being waged in rural areas. The urgent measures worked out by the party to eradicate illiteracy marked the beginning of the planned teaching of the peasantry.

The connection with the development of agricultural production and with carrying out Lenin's cooperative plan was typical of mass-political work in rural areas. Cooperation that took into account the readiness and the interests of the poor and middle masses of the peasantry helped to strengthen the economic positions of the weak peasantry and created the prerequisites for the socialist transformation of rural areas, for forming the new Soviet peasantry. In carrying out the party line rural members of the party became actively involved in the practical activity of developing the various forms of cooperation and they popularized the experience of the agricultural communes and artels. The participation of party members in rural cooperatives was regarded as obligatory. ⁴⁹

Guided by Lenin's idea of the need for differentiated use of the various cooperative forms, the members of the party popularized the various forms of cooperation, viewing them as a step toward socialist production.

In studying the experience of political indoctrination among the peasants it is extremely important to reveal Lenin's attitude toward this question.

V. I. Lenin put the growth of agriculture among the most urgent and crucial tasks. "Only in this way," he wrote, "is it possible to achieve an improvement in the position of the workers and also a strengthening of the alliance between the workers and peasantry, consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat." ⁵⁰

Within the set of measures to raise the productive forces of rural areas a visible place was given to overcoming the agrotechnical ignorance of the peasantry. On 22 August 1921 Lenin signed the draft of the decree entitled "On Mass Dissemination of Farming Knowledge and Improved Farming Methods Among the Peasant Population." On 1 November the RKP(b) Central Committee adopted an appeal to all oblast and guberniya committees of the RKP(b) entitled "On Elimination of Ignorance About Agriculture in Rural Areas." ⁵¹ In a meeting of the Commission for Agricultural Propaganda of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the RKP(b) Central Committee on 12 November 1921 it was decided: "In view of the catastrophic situation of agriculture and the need for the most vigorous effort for the recovery of agriculture, it is deemed: 1) extremely important to develop the broadest agitation and propaganda; 2) indispensable to involve the maximum manpower and resources of the state in the job of agitation and propaganda." ⁵² The rural intelligentsia, agronomists and teachers were recruited on a broad scale to popularize agricultural knowledge. ⁵³

The party adopted urgent measures to publish specialized agricultural literature, posters and agitation leaflets. Short courses were organized to eliminate ignorance about agriculture. The compulsory agrotechnical minimum was presented in schools for elimination of illiteracy, in political literacy schools, in the reading huts, and in rural schools.

The party considered it especially important that party members themselves become the popularizers of advanced methods of farming and propagandists for production cooperation, and for them to win over the peasants by their personal example and personal know-how. In a circular letter of the RKP(b) Central Committee sent to party organizations in connection with the 1922 spring planting season it was stated: "... The party must see that this spring the peasant looks upon the party member not as member of a food detachment, not as a food inspector, but as a popularizer, a pioneer, an initiator of improved methods of husbandry on the land."⁵⁴

Popularizing the ideas of cooperation, increasing the knowledge of soil and crop practices, and the policy of Soviet power in rural areas were at the center of the proceedings of nonparty peasant conferences and delegate assemblies of peasant women. It is well known that V. I. Lenin responded with high praise for this form of arousing peasant initiative, the form of political interaction with the broad peasant masses,⁵⁵ and how closely the Central Committee followed the organization and content of their work. On Lenin's recommendation the Narkomzem [People's Commissariat of Agriculture] called a conference of nonparty peasants of a number of guberniyas in RSFSR in Moscow in 1922. The conference discussed forms of land use, the food tax, and the conduct of the planting season.⁵⁶

It is worth noting that in those years the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition (1923) had great importance in popularizing advanced know-how and collective forms of agricultural production. The RKP(b) Central Committee pointed out that it was to bring out the "real position of the peasant farm, all the progressive advances and tendencies that had been outlined, and the maximum advantage that was to be derived from collective and soviet forms of economic activity."⁵⁷

Researchers have at their disposition abundant historical material that reveals the leading role of the working class in the communist enlightenment of the peasantry, in carrying out the cultural revolution in rural areas, and in strengthening the union between city and countryside.

In the article entitled "Pages From a Diary" V. I. Lenin raised a question of great political importance--the attitude of the city toward the countryside. He wrote that whereas under capitalism the city gave the countryside what corrupted it politically, economically, morally and physically, under socialism the city gives the countryside advanced technology, a radical improvement of its material position, and it also brings culture and knowledge to rural areas.

The most widespread form of aid by the city to the countryside and by the working class to the peasantry in the years of the NEP was the patron system.

Noting this important initiative, Lenin wrote: "... To establish communication between the workers of the city and the workers of the countryside, to establish between them that form of comradeship which can be easily created between them--that is our duty, that is one of the basic tasks of the working class, which is now in power. This requires establishing a number of associations (party, trade union and private) of factory-plant workers, who had systematically set themselves the goal of helping the countryside in its cultural development."⁵⁸

In September 1922 the All-Russian Society of Cultural Union was formed. Through this society the countryside received thousands of sets of literature, magazines, newspapers, and equipment for clubs and reading huts. In November 1924 the "Basic Principles of the Work of Cultural Patron" were adopted, and the magazine VOPROSY SHEFSTVA began to be published as a monthly supplement to the magazine SPUTNIK AGITATORA. Associations of fellow countrymen became a unique form of patronage of the working class that arose as a result of the mass Leninist appeal to the party. A sizable number of new worker party members had close ties with the countryside and were well aware of its needs, and the party took steps to strengthen those ties and give them an organizational framework. "The creation of associations of fellow countrymen consisting of workers in the city," it was noted in a resolution of the 13th RKP(b) Congress, "should help to strengthen the general work of cultural patronage of the countryside. The associations of fellow countrymen should help party and soviet authorities above all in improving the state, cooperative and party apparatus in rural areas; to be specific, they should help to disseminate the relevant literature and above all newspapers among the peasants."⁵⁹

Organizational and economic aid to the countryside took on broad dimensions. The workers participated in holding "Red Plowman Week," "Peasant Week," "Week for Strengthening the Alliance of the Working Class and Peasantry," planting campaigns, and so on. Agricultural machines were obtained with the help of the patrons, machine partnerships and rental stations were set up, and cooperatives were organized. As a specific expression of the alliance between the working class and the peasant masses, the patronage work helped to establish strong ties between the city and countryside and promoted the cultural growth and economic shaping of the countryside.

Thus investigation of the historical experience of political indoctrination among the peasants in the first years of Soviet power could be very fruitful, and that not only based on the material of the period examined here, but also on later material related to collectivization and the subsequent development of socialist agriculture.

S. I. Mokshin: V. I. Lenin Concerning the Role of Science in the Building of Socialism

Researchers have done quite a bit of work on the study of V. I. Lenin's ideas concerning the role of science in the building of socialism and concerning the policy of the Communist Party and Soviet state in the domain of scientific-technical progress and of the historical experience gained in this

sphere. Still the topic is in need of further and more thorough studies, especially in the light of those tasks of a programmatic nature which have been assigned to Soviet science in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.⁶⁰

V. I. Lenin thoroughly elucidated the new social role of science in the socialist state as one of the important factors in building the new society and as a powerful implement for improving the life of the people and for increasing its material and spiritual wealth. Only socialism, he wrote, created the possibility of "work for oneself, and in addition work based on all the advances of the most recent technology and culture,"⁶¹ makes it possible to make the advances of science "the property of the entire people,"⁶² to "widely disseminate and authentically bring social production and distribution of produce into line with scientific conceptions."⁶³

V. I. Lenin not only defined the role and place of science in socialist society, he also pointed out the main directions of its development and worked out the foundations of the strategy of scientific-technical progress in an inseparable unity with social progress. Lenin's "Sketch of a Plan of Scientific-Technical Projects" set before scientists an interrelated group of scientific-technical problems whose solution was of the first priority for the recovery and development of the economy of the country of soviets. They included systematic study of the natural productive forces and their practical utilization, the optimum location of industry from the standpoint of proximity of raw materials and the possibility of the lowest losses in shipment, creation of new large-scale manufacturing processes, use in industry and agriculture of new forms of energy, and so on.⁶⁴ Lenin paid particular attention to the use of science to raise labor productivity, to provide the material foundation for large-scale industry: development of the production of fuel, iron, machinebuilding, the chemical industry, development of natural resources with the procedures of the most recent technology, development of the correct methods of the scientific organization of labor, and so on. Lenin felt the "feasibility of socialism" lay precisely in successful combination of the advantages of Soviet power and the most recent advances of science and technology.⁶⁵ Research shows that Lenin's ideas about the foundations of the strategy of scientific-technical progress in our country began to be carried out vigorously even in the first years of Soviet power. Around the old Academy of Sciences there arose in the mid-twenties a large and diverse network of scientific centers of a completely new type, centers which had strong ties with the people's commissariats and with the plants, with the current demands of production, and, as noted by A. P. Aleksandrov, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the transformation took place of "the fragmentary science of old Russia into the solid front of the science of the Soviet Union."⁶⁶ Even by the 10th anniversary of the Great October a well-ordered system of state scientific institutions had grown up: under the Main Administration for Science there were 105 scientific institutions working predominantly in the theoretical fields (not counting the institutes of the Academy of Sciences), 19 institutes were in the system of the Supreme Soviet of the National Economy, 22 institutes and 43 experimental stations were under the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, about 20 institutes under the People's Commissariat of Health, and 33 institutes were in the union republics.⁶⁷

It is of extremely great interest to a researcher to trace the way in which the task of studying the productive forces, which was set by V. I. Lenin, was performed in practice. It was especially important to study the productive forces of northern and central Russia and West Siberia, where there were natural resources in a class of their own.⁶⁸ The immense scale of socialist construction outlined in the first 5-year plans made scientific research on a large scale a necessity. The USSR Academy of Sciences, the Council for Study of the Productive Forces (SOPS) and other institutions organized a number of expeditions into the regions of Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia, which completed the drafting of scientific recommendations on comprehensive development of the economy and location of the productive forces, the writing up of scientifically sound hypotheses for the use of natural and labor resources, production and transportation equipment.⁶⁹ In the thirties there began the successful development of the natural resources of the Kola Peninsula, the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, creation of the coal and metallurgical complex in the Kuzbass and centers of nonferrous metallurgy in the Urals, in Siberia and in the Far East. In the postwar years the following natural resources were explored and developed: reserves of petroleum and natural gas (West Siberia), copper, zinc and rare metals (East Siberia), diamonds (Yakutia). As a result the Soviet Union took first place in the world in production of steel, petroleum (including gas condensate), iron and manganese ore, coke, manufactured fertilizers, and certain other products.⁷⁰

As indicated by the experience gained by the party, the new organization and development of science in the socialist state during the transitional period were inseparably bound up with use of the old scientific-technical intelligentsia in building the new society, the cultural legacy and the knowledge which humanity had worked out in previous ages. Refuting the petit bourgeois notions of creating a specifically proletarian science and culture,⁷¹ Lenin emphasized that there was a need to rework and assimilate everything that "had been valuable in the more than 2,000 years of development of human thought and culture."⁷² As A. V. Lunacharskiy recalled, drawing the intelligentsia into socialist construction required the greatest diplomacy on the part of our policymakers and everyone who in one way or another had to do with our intelligentsia, since here nothing could be done by coercion, but only by persuasion, by the ability to capture them with the beauty of our construction.⁷³ That is why Lenin called upon party members to surround the scientists and specialists with a "atmosphere of comradely common labor hand in hand with the mass of rank-and-file workers."⁷⁴

At the same time Lenin and the party applied every effort so that new scientists would grow up out of the worker-peasant youth, so that a new generation of scientists would be formed which together with the best representatives of the old intelligentsia would guarantee the successful development of Soviet science and technology. In the course of the revolutionary transformation there were changes in the social identity and class composition of the Academy of Sciences and other scientific centers. Talented young people from the working class and peasantry, representatives of numerous nationalities of our country, for whom every opportunity was created to show initiative and talent, flocked into the scientific research institutes and laboratories.

The new socialist science rose up in a short time in the country of soviets on the basis of the old science, which was meritorious, but had in many respects been divorced from life. It became a science of the people, altogether accessible to everyone who had the capacity for research. The number of scientists increased rapidly.⁷⁵ As a result of all this a sizable portion of the population and the material resources of our country have now been drawn into scientific production (approximately 5 percent of the national income).⁷⁶

V. I. Lenin and the party thoroughly and comprehensively substantiated the idea of the state planning of science, whose realization made it possible to concentrate scientific personnel and material resources on performance of priority scientific tasks important to economic development, to the further development of technical progress. The CPSU and Soviet state were the first in the history of humanity to use science in the conscious construction of new social relations, in the planned guidance of all economic life. Lenin's GOELRO [State Commission for Electrification of Russia] plan was the world's first thoroughly scientific multiannual plan for economic development to set a sound technical foundation based on the most recent achievements of science and technology under the country's economic reverse. The GOELRO plan, which was a comprehensive and long-range plan, embodied the principles and methods of socialist planning, which were based on strictly scientific reckoning of the objective laws, organic linkage of current and multiannual tasks, extensive application of the balance method of commensuration of needs and sources of meeting them, of the system of intersector relations in the production and consumption of products, which were based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of expanded reproduction.⁷⁷

Historical experience teaches us that it was Lenin's ideas of long-range and multiannual planning, which were the basis of the methodology of a socialist planned economy, and Lenin's principles and methods of planned management of the economy that made it possible for the CPSU and Soviet state to effectively manage the economy, to establish proportional location of the productive forces, and to develop the country's economy harmoniously, according to a single general plan. As emphasized in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On the 50th Anniversary of the 1st Five-Year Plan for Development of the USSR National Economy," the planning of economic development became one "of the most important scientific and social achievements of the 20th century and of the revolutionary practice of transformation of social life."⁷⁸

The well-ordered system of the state organization of science created by the party and Soviet state guaranteed successful development of basic and theoretical research along the entire front of science and made it possible to link science to the practice of socialist construction. In that sense the first 5-year periods, the years of socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, when science made the transition to the system of multiannual prospective plans, were those in which the change took place for Soviet science, that is, it was then that science came to be planned. "The determined transition to the planning system," S. I. Vavilov, at that time president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said, "is the most significant

feature of Soviet science in the second period of its history, which coincides approximately with the second Soviet decade."⁷⁹

It should be emphasized that in this period planning covered not only creation of new scientific institutions, the production of the necessary equipment, and the training of personnel, but even the very content of scientific research. Relying on an analysis of trends in development of science, technology and production, the party was able to pursue a unified scientific-technical policy unbrokenly throughout the entire cycle from basic research to applied research, plant development and application to production. In managing scientific-technical progress in the country in a planned way, the Communist Party and socialist state were consistently able to predict its capabilities, prospects and social consequences in every stage of social development.

Thus the historical experience of the CPSU entirely confirms Lenin's premises to the effect that scientific knowledge is a powerful transforming factor, that it could exert an effective influence on all spheres of social life, that science inevitably is transformed into a variety of industrial work. In accordance with Lenin's plan for construction of socialism in the USSR, the development of science in the post-October years took place simultaneously with the technical reorganization of socialist production, with creation of the material prerequisites for rapid development of the productive forces, with the country's industrialization and with the collectivization of agriculture.

This process deserves thorough and comprehensive study. It would be especially important to trace how science through its discoveries actively promoted the progress of advanced branches of socialist industry and transformation of agriculture on new principles, and how the latter in turn stimulated the flowering of science, contributed to science taking a leading position in economic and social development and was and is more and more effective in helping development of the main productive force of socialist society--development of man himself, of his abilities and gifts.

V. V. Ukraintsev: Out of the Experience of Reorganizing the Teaching of the Social Sciences in the System of Public Education and Higher Education in the Period 1921-1925

The struggle to transform the public school and the system of higher and specialized secondary educational institutions into an effective tool of communist indoctrination of the people and the young generation above all is an important landmark in the history of the party's ideological activity that deserves specific study in order to summarize the experience gained in this area from the standpoint of the requirements of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.⁸⁰

In the process of reorganizing the Soviet school the party and government were guided by Lenin's ideas, by his specific instructions. V. I. Lenin repeatedly spoke to the personnel of Narkompros [People's Commissariat of Education]. A great many of his articles and small pieces were devoted to the indoctrination and education of young people.

"The school," V. I. Lenin wrote, "must become an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., not only a conductor of the principles of communism in general, but also a conductor of ideological, organizational and indoctrinating influence of the proletariat on the semiproletarian and non-proletarian strata of the working masses in the interests of complete suppression of opposition by the exploiters and achievement of the communist system."⁸¹

The tasks of communist indoctrination of young people which confronted the party in the very first years of Soviet power demanded a revolutionary transformation of the entire system of public education and above all an effective separation of the school from the church and the teaching of the social sciences that shape the Marxist-Leninist outlook. In reorganizing the system of public education in accordance with the new tasks, the party strove to link the educational process closely to the practice of socialist construction so that the habits of socially useful work were inculcated in young people, so that they were indoctrinated in the spirit of communist morality.

This reorganization took place in a complicated context. Some of the teachers, mainly those of the academic high schools and technical and commercial schools, which in the past had been the most privileged, were in the opposition to Soviet power, even though they continued to do their teaching. Research shows that the party not only overcame the resistance of this category of teachers, but also reeducated them, placing them at the service of the proletariat. The letter of the RPK(b) Central Committee entitled "On Work Among Educators" (October 1921) was devoted to the problems of raising the sociopolitical consciousness and level of organization of teachers.⁸² The progressive portion of school personnel--party members, those who sympathized with them, participants in the revolutionary events in 1917, democratically disposed teachers of rural and urban schools who were closer to the workers and peasants--became actively involved in creating the Soviet school.

In developing the foundations of Soviet pedagogy, which in the teaching process was called upon to shape the communist outlook and instill industrious attitudes, V. I. Lenin warned educational personnel against becoming carried away with projects calling for the most complete reorganization of education, against underestimation of the pedagogic know-how of the old prerevolutionary school. He called for critical assimilation and reworking of the best traditions and achievements of domestic and world pedagogy.

Lenin's ideas became the basis for creation of the unified school for vocational and general education and marked the beginning of polytechnical education. The polytechnical idea, as V. I. Lenin saw it, was one of the guiding principles determining the nature of public education. A straightforward exposition of Lenin's views is contained in notes to the theses of N. K. Krupskaya entitled "On Polytechnical Education." Lenin emphasized the idea of the intolerability of transforming polytechnical education into the teaching of crafts and trades, which made it necessary "to avoid early specialization ... to expand general educational subjects in all vocational and technical schools."⁸³

The curricula of the State Academic Council (GUS) played a significant role in reorganization of the system of teaching in the school in the period 1923-1925. They reflected the aspiration to comprehensive study of man's activity in society. They were organized according to the scheme: nature and man, labor, society. Much space was given to the natural sciences as a tool of antireligious propaganda.⁸⁴

However, when we examine these curricula so as to take into account the historical experience that has been gained, we see that they were not free of defects. They seem to have brought together two opposite principles: revolutionary content linking the school to reality and the tasks of socialist construction, and artificial and invented forms for structuring the subject matter. In spite of these defects, which incidentally were later corrected, the comprehensive curricula did at that time help to bring schoolchildren into contact with the basic elements of the outlook of scientific materialism.

In the curricula dating from the period 1923-1925 there was an increase in the space devoted to the social and historical disciplines, the course in political literacy was introduced, and the teaching of it was entrusted to party members who had teaching experience or skills in lecturing.⁸⁵

The party strove for Lenin's principles of communist indoctrination and training of young people to be reflected in textbooks and teaching aids, which were altogether new from the standpoint of ideology, methodology and methods. The Soviet textbook, N. K. Krupskaya wrote, must be a "tool in the reorganization of our schools to give it the structure demanded by our party's program."⁸⁶

Vigorous work to prepare school textbooks began in March 1923, when on the question of textbooks the presidium of the scientific pedagogy section of GUS adopted the plan for publication of academic literature, including textbooks in the social sciences.⁸⁷

Research shows that even in that period the development of the social interests of the pupils, instilling in them the spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and their introduction to personal participation in the reorganization of society were not restricted to the framework of the teaching and pedagogic process. These tasks were performed in the process of the entire sociopolitical life of the school, the activity of party organizations in the system of public education, Komsomol and other public organizations.

Higher education became an important area of ideological struggle at the outset of the period of recovery. The first party conference on public education, guided by the ideas of V. I. Lenin, advanced the task of political conquest of higher education, of ensuring the revolutionary direction in its work, the communist indoctrination of university students, so that indoctrination of the broadest strata of the population would be set in motion with the help of the new worker-peasant intelligentsia.⁸⁸

V. I. Lenin attributed exceptional importance to political-ideological guidance of the education and indoctrination of young people. "The content of training," he wrote, "since we are talking about general school subjects, philosophy, the social sciences and communist indoctrination in particular, must be determined exclusively by party members."⁸⁹ In November 1920 a conference of personnel of Narkompros and figures from higher education was held under Lenin's chairmanship in the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars; the plan for reorganization of the teaching of social sciences in VUZ's was discussed. The plan which Lenin proposed called for drawing up Marxist syllabi for all the social sciences and teaching those sciences only according to the new syllabi. It was remarked at the conference that the bourgeoisie professors could be used to deliver lecture courses whose content would objectively expose the reactionary and antipopular character of imperialism. At the same time the question was raised in urgent terms of speedy training of Marxist professors from among the most able young party members.

A decree of the SNK [Council of People's Commissars] signed by V. I. Lenin and entitled "On Reorganization of the Teaching of the Social Sciences in Higher Educational Institutions of RSFSR" was published on 3 December 1920. It was an important stage on the road toward eliminating the discrepancy between the teaching of the social sciences and the tasks of socialist construction. A commission was set up in Narkompros to revise the teaching of the social sciences in the republic's VUZ's.⁹⁰ The material prepared by the commission, which was based on Lenin's instruction, became in fact a topic of thorough discussion at the first party conference on public education.⁹¹

The reorganization of the teaching of the social sciences in VUZ's on the basis of the SNK decree aroused stubborn resistance on the part of the old bourgeois professoriat, the reactionary segment of which attempted to obstruct implementation of the measures outlined by the party by organizing teacher strikes under the slogan of the "autonomy" of higher education.⁹² The anti-Soviet elements strove to put to their own use the bourgeois-democratic prejudices inherent in many VUZ teachers. Some of the VUZ professors attempted in their lectures and textbooks to slip in the theoretical conceptions of apologists of a bourgeois restoration, turning the "chairs of higher educational institutions into platforms for undisguised bourgeois propaganda."⁹³

But the party pursued the new course resolutely and unswervingly. The 12th RKP(b) Congress proposed that the entire segment of the old party guard which had been trained for this job be recruited to help the komvuz's and VUZ's in general. The Central Committee was ordered to designate the group of highly qualified party specialists to train the teachers of komvuz's and VUZ's through the system of communist education and a group of lecturers to serve the komvuz's and VUZ's of Moscow, Petrograd and other cities.⁹⁴ There was discussion at the 13th party congress of the acuteness of the situation with teachers of science. The Secretariat of the RKP(b) Central Committee set up a special commission to carry out the decision; the commission drafted a plan for furnishing teachers of the social and political disciplines to VUZ's. In August 1925 the Central Committee assigned to teaching work in VUZ's 63 responsible party and Soviet workers, including: A. S. Bubnov, V. D. Bonch-Bruevich, N. V. Krylenko, M. M. Litvinov, V. I. Mezhlauk, I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, P. I. Stuchka, etc. They all delivered lectures in VUZ's on a

voluntary basis. During the period October-December 1924 the Agitation-Propaganda Department of the RKP(b) Central Committee sent 390 party members as lecturers to VUZ's in Moscow alone.⁹⁵⁻⁹⁷

In the mid-twenties a sizable shift took place in the ideological dispositions of the old professoriat in the direction of joint work with Soviet power. In mid-1925 the RSFSR SNK noted that it attributed great importance to the coming around of the professors to meet the new system halfway as well as to the simultaneous shift of the same order among the republic's scientists in general.⁹⁸ V. I. Lenin's words were realized to the effect that the old specialists "would be conquered morally, and not only politically cut off from the bourgeoisie,"⁹⁹ that the engineer, the agronomist, the scientist, and any other representative of the scientific and technical intelligentsia would come to communism not as a propagandist working underground, but through the data of his own science.¹⁰⁰

Thus research shows that the measures of the Communist Party to reorganize the teaching of the social sciences in the system of public education in the period 1921-1925 marked the beginning of a radical change of direction in the ideological life of the general educational school and higher education. From both the scientific and practical standpoints it would be worthwhile to trace how the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory under party leadership in that period became an organic part of the teaching process and indoctrination and how later the revolutionary theory helped the upcoming generation to acquire the Marxist orientation in the complicated sociopolitical life of Soviet society. In our view particular attention ought to be paid to studying the actual historical experience gained by the party when, having liquidated the bourgeoisie's monopoly over intellectual and vocational education of young people, it laid down Marxist-Leninist foundations in the system of public education and higher education.

A. L. Vodolagina: On the Party's Historical Experience in the Guidance of Cultural Construction and of the Development of Literature and Art

The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee paid a great deal of attention to the questions of guidance of the development of literature and art.¹⁰¹ In this connection it is an urgent matter to study thoroughly the experience gained by the party in this field. Such experience does exist. The party attributed great importance to the development of Soviet literature and art even in the period of recovery.¹⁰² These matters were a topic of discussion at the 11th, 12th and 13th Congresses of the RKP(b) and of the 12th party conference. At them the party adopted a number of important decisions which elaborated and put in specific detail Lenin's ideas in the field of cultural construction. The scientific foundation on which the party constructed its policy in this field, bringing it into line with the general policy aimed at construction of socialist society, was laid down in the party documents of this period.

The party line was based on the principles of the party spirit of literature and art worked out by V. I. Lenin, the writings entitled "Party Organization and Party Literature," "Critical Notes on the Nationality Question," the

articles on L. N. Tolstoy, "About Our Revolution," "Successes and Difficulties of Soviet Power," "On Proletarian Culture," the letters to A. M. Gorky, and numerous statements which V. I. Lenin made on the questions of literature and art constitute a solid theoretical basis of the policy of the party in the field of literature and art. To be specific, in the twenties they actively promoted exposure of the nihilistic views concerning the cultural legacy of the past, helped to orient young artists toward mastering the summits of culture and skill and serving the "millions and tens of millions of workers who are the flower of the country, its strength and its future."¹⁰³

Research shows that in outlining and implementing measures aimed at consolidation of the country's creative forces under the conditions of the transition to peacetime construction the party relied on the support of a sizable portion of the artistic intelligentsia. The reference is to those who accepted Soviet power without qualification, who from the first day joined the ranks of the fighters for socialism and glorified, as V. Mayakovsky wrote, "the bullet-ridden October banner which has been ridiculed and praised in song and which was raised like a red rocket!"¹⁰⁴

The conduct of party guidance of literature and art in the first half of the twenties was also complicated to a considerable extent by the existence in the country of numerous creative groupings reflecting different artistic and stylistic directions.¹⁰⁵ Two tendencies were rather clearly evident in the process of their genesis and activity. On the one hand there was the desire for unification, attempts to solve the large problems of the entire nation that had arisen in the process of the struggle for socialism. On the other a certain portion of the creative intelligentsia, brought up on the bourgeois tendencies toward disunity, on bourgeois conceptions of art as a sphere accessible only to the selected few, strove to divorce themselves from society, from the people, to shut themselves off in a narrow professional group, not allowing any sort of intervention by the state or party, advocating "independence" of artistic creativity from the ideology which had become the ruling ideology as the result of the revolution, from the policy of the Soviet state.

The party subjected to criticism the ideas in the field of literature and art alien to the proletariat and to socialism. At the same time, as research shows, it conducted a great deal of activity in helping those who had sincerely gone astray and made mistakes to return to the right road--to the road of serving the people. The party carried on painstaking everyday work to indoctrinate those who were talented in the art. The experience gained in this effort has not lost its value even today and is of considerable scientific and practical interest.

Guided by Lenin's ideas, the party resolutely condemned the nihilistic attitude toward the classical cultural legacy and cut short all attempts undertaken, in particular, by certain leaders of proletkul'ts [the "Proletarian Culture" cultural and educational organization associated with Narkompros in the period 1917-1932] (A. Bogdanov, V. Pletnev, etc.) to impose the idea of the need to create a "purely proletarian," separate, so-called "homogeneous proletarian culture," which would be created solely by the industrial workers.

"Proletarian culture," V. I. Lenin said, "must be a legitimate development of those stores of knowledge which humanity has developed under the impression of capitalist society, the society of large landowners, and the society of civil servants."¹⁰⁶ He subjected to annihilating criticism A. Bogdanov's "idea" to the effect that supposedly every social system had its own inherent culture peculiar to it alone created on the principle of "those who do the organizing"--"those who carry out orders," that the new culture would supposedly be built not on the basis of assimilating and developing everything progressive that had been created in this sphere by humanity, but in special "laboratories of proletarian culture."

"Marxism," Lenin wrote, "... has assimilated and reworked everything that was valuable in the more than 2000 years of development of human thought and culture. Only continued work on that basis and in the same direction, inspired by the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as its last struggle against all kinds of exploitation, can be recognized as a development of authentically proletarian culture."¹⁰⁷

In a letter of the RKP(b) Central Committee published in PRAVDA on 1 December 1920 the policy of the party in the field of culture, literature and art was defined. In it the party's Central Committee criticized the petit bourgeois views of the leaders of Proletkul't who had attempted to impose the idea of creating a "separate proletarian" culture. The Central Committee proposed that the proletkul'ts be reorganized in order to ensure party influence and to enlist them actively in cultural construction.

The decree of the Politburo of the RKP(b) Central Committee on 22 November 1922 also played a large role in adjusting the operation of these class organizations. It emphasized the need to bring the proletkul'ts back to health on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism and to transform them into one of the party's most important pieces of apparatus in satisfying the cultural demands of the proletariat.

The question of how the party resisted all the attempts to infiltrate the sectarian and revisionist views of petit bourgeois ideologues deserves specific research. In particular, the party was quite prompt in condemning the platform of the so-called "collectivists," which Lenin described as the "platform" of "the Bogdanovites." The ideological-esthetic struggle between different creative groups and the more vigorous activity of the Trotskyites, which became more acute in the twenties, also demanded the party's constant attention.

Trotsky's views of culture, literature and art were criticized by PRAVDA and by the magazines BOLSHEVIK and KRASNAYA PECHAT'. They convincingly revealed the scientific unsoundness and political harm of Trotskyism. The Leningrad magazine ZVEZDA, in whose pages there was discussion of the pathways of development of Soviet literature and of party policy on this question, took an active part in exposing Trotskyism.

At the initiative of the party Central Committee the magazine PECHAT' I REVO-LYUTSIYA conducted in 1924 a discussion of the "formal method," which

tellingly demonstrated the hostility of formalism to Marxism in the realm of ideology and its lack of content. A. V. Lunacharskiy's article "Formalism in the Science of Art" revealed the social roots of formalism, emphasized its danger to young revolutionary art and Marxist art criticism, and proved that formalism was a legacy of bourgeois art that at the end of the 19th century had fallen "under the sway of West European fashions and currents."¹⁰⁸

"What we need," A. V. Lunacharskiy wrote, "is a serious art, we need an art that is capable of assimilating our current everyday life, which would address us with a preaching of the current esthetic values which are only now growing up."¹⁰⁹

At the beginning of 1925 a commission was formed in the RKP(b) Central Committee which thoroughly studied the state of literary activity and presented its recommendations to the Central Committee. Distinguished figures of the party and culture and also representatives of various literary directions took part in its work. The drafting of the recommendations was preceded by discussion during which specific directions of party policy in the field of literature were outlined and emphasis was put on the need "to strive for the proletariat to capture strong positions in the field of literature as well as in the field of all art."¹¹⁰ The commission's fruitful work helped many of its rank-and-file participants and leaders of literary groups to get their bearings for the first time in all the complexity of the problems of building the new, proletarian and socialist culture, literature and art.

Research shows that in the twenties the party was carrying out a broad program to indoctrinate the Soviet creative intelligentsia. It enlisted the old progressive intelligentsia in cultural construction and facilitated the advancement of talented young representatives of the workers and fought for a proletarian ideology in the field of literature and art.

Relying on Lenin's principle of fundamental importance to the effect that administrative action and the giving of orders were impermissible when it came to literature and art, the party repeatedly called attention to the importance of the correct organization of Marxist-Leninist criticism and organization of special critical and bibliographical departments in publishing houses, magazines and newspapers.¹¹¹ The party regarded Marxist-Leninist criticism as one of the main tools of indoctrination and an effective implement in the work with the artistic intelligentsia, emphasizing that it must distinguish itself with activity, with the clarity of its ideological positions, and with its intolerance for ideologically alien and professionally weak works of art.

The resolution of the RKP(b) Central Committee dated 18 June 1925 and entitled "On Party Policy in the Field of Belles Lettres" was a most important document defining the foundations of party policy in the field of artistic creativity and toward the artistic intelligentsia. Basically, this document applied equally to questions of the development of art as to cultural construction as a whole. It pointed out that the main task facing literature was to shape the ideological unity of its creative forces on the basis of the proletarian ideology.

The party's Central Committee considered it indispensable to continue to wage an implacable struggle against manifestations of bourgeois ideology. The resolution called attention to the fact that "in a class society there is no neutral art, nor can there be, although the class nature of art in general and of literature in particular is expressed in forms infinitely more diverse than, say, in politics."¹¹²

The historical experience of party guidance of cultural construction and of the development of literature and art refutes the present-day bourgeois and revisionist falsifications in this field. Flagrantly distorting the facts, they unsuccessfully attempt to represent the advances of Soviet literature and art in the twenties as the consequence of a supposedly complete absence of guidance of them by the Leninist party, calling this period the "golden age." At the same time, in order to discredit the leading role of the Communist Party, the bourgeois ideologues and revisionists attempt to set the practical policy of the party in that period against Leninist principles of party leadership of literature and art.

But a study of the experience of the twenties and a thorough analysis of party policy and of achievements in the field of artistic creativity refute such pseudotheories. The flowering of literature and art in that period was brought about and conditioned not by the absence of party guidance, but, on the contrary, by a strengthening of the leading role of the party, by its tactical aid to the artistic intelligentsia.

The policy of the Communist Party, principled, flexible and differentiated as to the various strata of the intelligentsia, took into account all the available experience, put on the agenda the tasks dictated by the new revolutionary activity, thereby providing immense help to the representatives of literature and art. This policy, which was based on Marxism-Leninism, helped to form the Soviet ideological position of the artistic intelligentsia and to bring it closer to the people and the people's interests, and to make it more active in the struggle to build the new society.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS. 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda" [Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Held 14-15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 69.
2. Yu. V. Andropov, "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles], 2d edition, Moscow, 2983, p 294.
3. Ibid., p 246.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 67.
5. PRAVDA, 16 August 1983.
6. B. N. Ponomarev, "Marx's Doctrine--A Guide to Action," PRAVDA, 31 March 1983.

7. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, pp 70, 71 and elsewhere.
8. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 g." [On Further Improvement of Ideological Work and Political Indoctrination. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee Dated 26 April 1979], Moscow, 1979, pp 3, 12; "O 80-letii Vtorogo s"yezda RSDRP. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS. 31 marta 1983 g." [On the 80th Anniversary of the 2d Congress of the RSDRP. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee. 31 March 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 14.
9. "Delo vsey partii. Materialy Vsesoyuznogo soveshchaniya ideologicheskikh rabotnikov. Moskva, 16-17 oktyabrya 1979 goda" [A Matter for the Entire Party. Materials of the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers. Moscow, 16-17 October 1979], Moscow, 1980, pp 2, 7, 40 and elsewhere.
10. "Za vysokoye kachestvo i deystvennost' ideologicheskoy raboty. Materialy Vsesoyuznogo seminara-soveshchaniya ideologicheskikh rabotnikov. Moskva, 20-25 aprelya 1981 goda" [On Behalf of High Quality and Effectiveness of Ideological Work. Materials of the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers. Moscow, 20-25 April 1981], Moscow, 1981, pp 48, 80, 504 and elsewhere.
11. M. V. Zimyanin, "A Party of Revolutionary Action," PRAVDA, 30 July 1983.
12. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 37, p 514.
13. Ibid., Vol 40, p 104.
14. B. N. Ponomarev, "Certain Problems in the CPSU's Theoretical Work Over the 60 Years Since the October Revolution," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 9, 1977, p 4.
15. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 41, p 402.
16. Ibid., Vol 37, p 404.
17. Yu. V. Andropov, op. cit., p 234.
18. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 33, p 98.
19. Ibid., Vol 38, pp 386-387.
20. Ibid., Vol 39, pp 262-264.
21. Ibid., Vol 36, p 290.
22. Ibid., Vol 41, p 232.
23. M. V. Zimyanin, op. cit.

24. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS. 14-15 iyunya 1983 g.," p 6.
25. "Perepiska Sekretariata TsK RSDRP(b)--RKP(b) s mestnymi partiynymi organizatsiyami. Sbornik dokumentov" [Correspondence of the Secretariat of the RSDRP(b)--RKP(b) Central Committee With Local Party Organizations. Collection of Documents], Vol II, Moscow, 1957, pp 4, 57; Vol IV, Moscow, 1969, pp 8, 93; Vol VII, Moscow, 1972, p 36.
26. "The Curriculum of the Worker-Peasant Communist University imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov," in the book: V. Nevskiy, "Otchet Raboche-krest'yanskogo kommunisticheskogo universiteta. Za period iyun' 1918 g. po 1-ye yanvarya 1920 g." [Report of the Worker-Peasant Communist University. For the Period June 1918 to 1 January 1920], Moscow, 1920, p 67.
27. IZVESTIYA TsK RKP(B), No 11-12, 1922, p 19.
28. By the end of 1925 supervisory personnel and ideological workers were being trained in the USSR by 197 Soviet-party schools at the first level and 67 at the second, and 14 komvuz's. (See "K XIV s"yezdu RKP(b)" [Toward the 14th RKP(b) Congress], Moscow-Leningrad, 1925, p 95.)
29. SU RSFSR, No 12, 1921, Item 79, p 83.
30. "Programmy dlya sovetsko-partiynykh shkol 1-y stupeni" [Syllabi for the Soviet-Party Schools at the First Level], Moscow, 1922; "Programmnyye materialy Kommunisticheskogo universiteta" [Syllabus Material of the Communist University], Moscow, 1923.
31. IZVESTIYA TsK RKP(B), No 6(42), 1922, p 19; TsPA IML [Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism], Repository 17, Description 60, Piece 467, pp 2, 5, 81.
32. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and in Plenums of the Central Committee], Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 513.
33. Ibid., Vol 3, pp 116, 104-105.
34. Ibid., Vol 4, p 174.
35. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 36, pp 385, 386.
36. Ibid., Vol 37, p 90.
37. Ibid., Vol 39, pp 25-28.
38. Many of them, for example, the Saturdays and competition, the socialist obligations and counterplans, the tutor system and patron system, production conferences and collective agreements, the comrade courts, etc., have still remained in the work arsenal of the Soviet people and are put

to active use in the process of improving socioeconomic relations, work relations and ethical relations. Others proved to be viable only under particular conditions (for example, the "black books," the pledge of workers to stay at an enterprise, the "Time--Scientific Management" League, the social tugboats, the boycotting of idlers and shirkers, the "7-day week," living and production communes, and "unified wage payment books," and so on).

39. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh . . .," Vol 4, p 49.
40. For more detail on this, see: "Nauchnaya organizatsiya truda dvadtsatykh godov. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov" [Scientific Management in the Twenties. Collection of Documents and Material], Kazan, 1965; "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh . . .," Vol 4, pp 169-175, 264-266, 368-378; Vol 5, Moscow, 1971, pp 231-252, 324-332; "Resheniya partii i pravitel'stva po khozyaystvennym voprosam" [Decisions of the Party and Government on Economic Matters], Vol 2, Moscow, 1967, pp 93-95, 125-131, 250-254, 438-441, 665-672.
41. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh . . .," Vol 5, p 339.
42. Yu. V. Andropov, op. cit., p 246.
43. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 41, p 27.
44. Ibid., Vol 43, p 60.
45. Yu. V. Andropov, op. cit., p 245.
46. In the contemporary science of party history little work is being done as yet on the problems of the party's political indoctrination work in the years of the New Economic Policy among the peasantry. These questions are taken up in works on the history of the NEP, the peasantry, the class struggle as a whole, etc. (See, for example: V. M. Selunskaya, "Bor'ba KPSS za sotsialisticheskoye preobrazovaniye sel'skogo khozyaystva (oktyabr' 1917-1934 gg.)" [The CPSU's Struggle for the Socialist Transformation of Agriculture (October 1917-1934)], Moscow, 1961; I. Ya. Trifonov, "Klassy i klassovaya bor'ba v SSSR v nachale nepa (1921-1923 gg.)" [Classes and the Class Struggle in the USSR at the Beginning of the NEP (1921-1923)], Part I, Leningrad, 1964; Yu. A. Polyakov, "Perekhod i nepu i sovetskoye krest'yanstvo" [The Transition to the NEP and the Soviet Peasantry], Moscow, 1967; Yu. S. Kukushkin, "Sel'skiye Sovety i klassovaya bor'ba v derevne (1921-1932 gg.)" [The Rural Soviets and the Class Struggle in the Countryside (1921-1932)], Moscow, 1968; S. P. Trapeznikov, "Leninizm i agrarno-krest'yanskiy vopros" [Leninism and the Agrarian and Peasant Question], Vol 1, Moscow, 1976; A. Ye. Pavlova, "Partiyno-politicheskaya rabota v derevne v usloviyah nepa" [Party-Political Work in the Countryside Under the Conditions of the NEP], Moscow, 1982; etc.)

47. "Na ideologicheskem fronte bor'by s kontrrevolyutsiyey" [On the Ideological Front of the Struggle Against the Counterrevolution], Moscow, 1923, p 30.

In general, concerning the reorganization of mass-political work in that period, we should bear in mind that the reference was to further development of Lenin's principles of the work with the masses, of their modification to suit the conditions of peacetime. The continuity in this work should not be forgotten and no sharp division should be made from the previous period, as was done, say, in the book by A. Ye. Pavlova "Partiyno-politicheskaya rabota...." She writes: "The Central Committee and all the party authorities and lower-level party organizations were faced with the task of overcoming the previous methods and forms of work which were proper to wartime" (p 15, and also 46, 47).

48. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh ...," Vol 2, pp 364-365.

49. Ibid., p 335.

50. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 43, p 218.

51. IZVESTIYA TsK RKP(B), No 35, 1921, pp 13-14.

52. TsPA IML, Repository 17, Description 60, Piece 29, pp 78-79. As of 26 September 1924 the Commission of the Central Committee for Work in the Countryside was renamed the Conference of the Central Committee for Work in the Countryside; in January 1925 this conference was broadened with representatives of the national republics.

53. See the letter of the RKP(b) Central Committee published 21 March 1924 in the newspaper PRAVDA and entitled "Attitude of the Party Toward the Work of Section Agronomists."

54. VESTNIK AGITATSII I PROPAGANDY, No 1, 1922, p 44.

55. V. I. Lenin "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 41, pp 31-32 and elsewhere.

56. A. D. Goncharev and P. I. Lunyakov, "V. I. Lenin i krest'yanstvo" [V. I. Lenin and the Peasantry], Moscow, 1967, p 149.

57. TsPA IML, Repository 17, Description 60, Piece 436, p 23.

58. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 45, p 367.

59. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh ...," Vol 3, pp 49-50.

60. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS. 14-15 iyunya 1983 g.," p 19.

61. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 35, p 196.

62. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 35, p 289.
63. Ibid., Vol 36, p 381.
64. Ibid., pp 228-231.
65. Ibid., p 190.
66. A. P. Aleksandrov, "Shest'desyat let sovetskoy nauki. Oktyabr' i nauka" [The 60-Year History of Soviet Science. October and Science], Moscow, 1977, p 10.
67. "Desyat' let sovetskoy nauki" [Ten Years of Soviet Science], Moscow-Leningrad, 1927, pp 14-16.
68. V. I. Vernadskiy, "O zadachakh i organizatsii prikladnoy nauchnoy raboty AN SSSR" [On the Tasks and Organization of Applied Scientific Work of the USSR Academy of Sciences], Leningrad, 1928, p 41.
69. "Shagi pyatiletok. Razvitiye ekonomiki SSSR" [The Steps of the Five-Year Plans. Development of the USSR Economy], Moscow, 1968, p 85.
70. KOMMUNIST, No 18, 1980, p 4.
71. For more detail, see: V. V. Gorbunov, "V. I. Lenin i Proletkul't" [V. I. Lenin and Proletarian Culture], Moscow, 1974.
72. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 41, p 337.
73. TsPA IML, Repository 142, Piece 363, p 40.
74. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 38, p 98.
75. Thus whereas in 1914 there were 11,600 scientists, in 1940 there were 98,300, in 1970 there were 940,000, and in 1980 there were 1.4 million. This is one-fourth of all the world's scientists. In the Soviet Union at present, together with attendant technical personnel, about 3 million persons are working in science, which is more than 1 percent of the world's entire population and approximately 4 percent of the number of persons employed in the economy. (See "Strana Sovetov za 50 let. Sbornik" [The Country of Soviets Over 50 Years. Collection], Moscow, 1967, pp 283-285; M. A. Suslov, "Na putyakh stroitel'stva kommunizma" [On the Roads of the Construction of Communism], Vol 2, Moscow, 1977, p 236; D. Gvishiani, "Sotsial'naya rol' nauki i nauchnaya politika" [The Social Role of Science and Science Policy], Moscow, 1968, p 4; PRAVDA, 24 January 1981.)
76. PRAVDA, 15 October 1981.
77. A. G. Yegorov, "Lenin's GOELRO Plan and Socialist and Communist Construction," VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 2, 1981, p 17.

78. PRAVDA, 18 March 1979.
79. S. I. Vavilov, "Tridtsat' let sovetskoy nauki" [30 Years of Soviet Science], Moscow, 1947, p 40.
80. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS. 14-15 iyunya 1983 g.," p 18.
81. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 38, p 116.
82. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh . . .," Vol 2, pp 282-285.
83. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 42, p 229.
84. N. K. Krupskaya, "Izbrannyye pedagogicheskiye proizvedeniya" [Selected Pedagogical Writings], 2d edition, Moscow, 1968, p 350.
85. "Spravochnik partiynogo rabotnika" [Party Worker's Reference Book], Issue IV, Moscow, 1924, p 166.
86. N. K. Krupskaya, op. cit., p 268.
87. We should note that a number of circumstances had previously had an adverse influence on the writing of new textbooks, including attempts to substantiate the "theory of the withering away of the textbook," which was unsound from the scientific standpoint and harmful from the practical standpoint.
88. The political prerequisites and certain of the organizational prerequisites for a radical reorganization of the teaching of the social sciences in higher education and the training of social scientists were created even in the first years of Soviet power. But the Civil War, which hampered the full accomplishment of this reorganization, and also the newness of the problems being solved made a necessity that intensive work be done in this field in the period 1921-1925.
89. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 42, p 320.
90. V. I. Lenin, "O naуke i vysshem obrazovanii" [On Science and Higher Education], Moscow, 1971, pp 344-345.
91. "Direktivy VKP(b) po voprosam prosveshcheniya" [Directives of the VKP(b) on Educational Matters], Moscow-Leningrad, 1931, p 354.
92. "Free" higher education, Professor N. S. Derzhavin, director of Petrograd University, rightly noted, required the bourgeoisie as one of its fronts of the struggle against Soviet power (see S. A. Fedyukin, "Bor'ba s burzhuaznoy ideologiyey v usloviyakh perekhoda k nepu" [The Struggle Against Bourgeois Ideology Under the Conditions of the Transition to the NEP], Moscow, 1977, p 94).

93. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh ...," Vol 2, p 392.

94. Ibid., p 461.

95-97. IZVESTIYA TsK RKP(B), No 9, 1925, p 3.

98. SU RSFSR, No 48, 1925, Item 364.

99. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 38, p 167.

100. Ibid., Vol 42, p 346.

101. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS. 14-15 iyunya 1983 g.," pp 47-49.

102. The problem of party guidance of development of literature and art has been reflected in a number of writings (see G. I. Kunitsyn, "Politika i literatura" [Politics and Literature], Moscow, 1973; V. I. Ivanov, "Formirovaniye ideynogo yedinstva sovetskoy literatury. 1917-1932" [Forming the Ideological Unity of Soviet Literature. 1917-1932], Moscow, 1960; Yu. A. Lukin, "Lenin i teoriya sotsialisticheskogo iskusstva" [Lenin and the Theory of Socialist Art], Moscow, 1973; same author, "V. I. Lenin i formirovaniye ideyno-esteticheskikh printsipov sovetskoy literatury" [V. I. Lenin and Formation of Ideological-Esthetic Principles of Soviet Literature], Moscow, 1977; S. I. Sheshukov, "Neistovyye revniteli" [Fierce Rivals], Moscow, 1970; S. A. Fedyukin, "Bor'ba ...," Moscow, 1977; etc.).

103. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 12, p 104.

104. V. V. Mayakovskiy, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 7, Moscow, 1958, p 212.

105. The reference is to groups and associations of the creative artistic intelligentsia: "Serapion's Brothers," LYeF ("Leftist Front of Art"), LTsK (Leftist Center of Constructivists), "The Crossing (Pereval)," etc.

106. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 41, pp 304-305.

107. Ibid., p 337.

108. This discussion has not lost its up-to-date ring, especially in its critical part: "Faddishness and the thirst for newness are indispensable concomitants of formalism. The paradox, the curiosity--that is the life and breath of the era of formalism, that is, the era without content, the culture of classes which have lost meaning" (A. V. Lunacharskiy, "Sobr. soch." [Collected Works], Vol 7, Moscow, 1967, p 421).

109. IZVESTIYA, Nos 78 and 79, 1926.

110. M. V. Frunze, "Sobr. soch.," Vol 3, Moscow-Leningrad, 1927, p 151.

111. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh . . .," Vol 3, p 96; "O partiynoy i sovetskoy pechati, radioveshchanii i televidenii. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov" [On the Party and Soviet Press, Radio and Television. Collection of Documents and Materials], Moscow, 1972, pp 392-396.

112. "O partiynoy i sovetskoy pechati . . .," p 393.

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HISTORY OF CPSU STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM VIEWED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 10, Oct 83 (signed to press 28 Sep 83) pp 16-27

[Article by A. G. Titov: "From Experience of the CPSU's Struggle Against Opportunism"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] V. I. Lenin and the CPSU repeatedly pointed out that irreconcilability toward opportunism is a distinguishing feature of the new type of party and one of the basic conditions for strengthening its unity and rallying the toiling masses about it. And today, as emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 80th Anniversary of the 2d RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Labor Party] Congress," "the CPSU together with other Marxist-Leninist parties is acting and will act vigorously against revisionism and opportunism."¹

The need for a consistent struggle for the correct political line of Marxist-Leninist parties was pointed out with new force by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. He named the search for ways to strengthen the solidarity of party members as one of our party's important tasks on the international plane.²

Party historians have created extensive literature which provides reasoned criticism of the views and subversive actions of anti-Leninist trends and groups and shows the international significance of the CPSU's experience in overcoming opportunism in its ranks and our party's role in the struggle against the danger of opportunism in the international arena.³ A number of studies examine the reasons for the appearance of opportunism and the methods and means of combating it at certain stages in the party's development.⁴ At the same time a further study of the subject demands a more thorough elaboration of a number of methodological issues of the historical experience of the CPSU's struggle against opportunism.

In the course of its development on the basis of ideas of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin our party worked out a set of theoretical and methodological propositions on which it relied in the struggle against opportunism. This

included propositions on the means and methods of identifying opportunism, on determining conditions of intraparty struggle, on specific methods for overcoming the activity of opportunistic trends and groups, and so on. Unfortunately, they clearly have been studied insufficiently by party historians. In particular, there is not one special work which examines them in the aggregate along the CPSU's entire historical path.

This article makes an attempt to fill in the gap noted to some extent. Taking into account that the range of the party's struggle against the danger of opportunism is very broad, the author limits his task to an analysis of the basic intraparty aspects of the subject and their significance for the party's fulfillment of its international duty to strengthen the international communist and working-class movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

One must know the enemy well in order to fight him successfully. For this reason the party always considered the task of "distinguishing,"⁵ in Lenin's words, its theory and practice from that of Marxism to be important for exposing opportunism and for a successful struggle against it. This need arose in connection with the fact that opportunism, which appeared together with development of the proletariat's revolutionary movement in the latter half of the 19th century, began to change its ideological cover and act more and more under the flag of Marxism in the 1890's after Marxism became established in the social democratic movement. In formulating the tasks of recognizing opportunism, Lenin emphasized that Marxists must learn "TO DETERMINE that border beyond which begins a digression" from Marxism to opportunism and "TO CONDUCT ALL PARTY AFFAIRS in the proper line as determined by these borders."⁶

It is no simple matter to recognize opportunism. This is complicated substantially by the conscious and unconscious attempts of its adherents to mask their opportunism, by the diffuse nature of many opportunistic views, and by the lack of principle and the adaptability of the opportunists.⁷ Using the example of the Bolsheviks' struggle against populism and liquidationism, Lenin taught that to "distinguish" opportunistic groups and trends from revolutionary Marxism "there are only two means: theory and practical experience." He stressed that "one must look seriously into the theoretical content of such TRENDS OF THOUGHT. . . . One must study carefully the practical experience of the mass workers' movement from the standpoint of uniting the majority of class-conscious workers around integral, well-conceived, principled decisions..."⁸

Lenin pointed out such basic directions of exposing the danger of opportunism as the clarification of gnosiological roots and theoretical sources, the substance and class importance, the ideological-political content of the theory and practice of opportunism, and criteria of opportunism as a whole and of its individual trends and groups.

The gnosiological roots of opportunism concealed in a Marxist mask differ little from the gnosiological roots of its pre-Marx aspects. These are

various forms of pre-Marx materialism (mechanistic materialism) or direct idealism (neo-Kantianism, Machism) and, in the majority of cases, an eclectic mishmash from various philosophical systems alien to dialectical and historical materialism. To a great extent its social-political concepts have been borrowed from the liberal bourgeoisie or from anarchist trends and groups.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized the idea that "the essence of opportunism is the sacrificing of the proletariat's solid and long-term interests for its tawdry and short-lived interests."⁹ That definition comprehensively and accurately encompasses the substance of all varieties of opportunism which in the final account contribute objectively to the preservation of capitalism.

The class significance of opportunism stems logically from its substance. V. I. Lenin points out that "the basic class significance or, if you like, the social-economic content of opportunism is that certain elements of contemporary democracy went over to the side of the bourgeoisie (in fact, i.e., even if they did not realize this) on a large number of separate issues."¹⁰ A clarification of the substance and class significance of any sociopolitical trend within the working-class movement is at the same time a determination of its most important characteristic. If the theory and practice of the given trend directly or indirectly weaken the proletariat's positions and strengthen the bourgeoisie's positions, that means this is an opportunistic trend no matter how it disguises itself as Marxism.

In revealing the general features of opportunism Lenin also gave attention to existing distinctions among its individual trends. He performed a certain classification among them and spoke about various "directions," "manifestations," "trends," "varieties" and forms of opportunism.¹¹ In particular, the unified class content of opportunism is reflected in two basic directions: right opportunism, which directly strives to adapt the ideology and politics of workers' parties to the bourgeoisie's interests, and "left" opportunism, the ideological and political principles of which, camouflaged by a "leftist," ultrarevolutionary phrase, also are favorable to the bourgeoisie in the final account since they lead the working class to defeat in class struggle. Lenin called "left" opportunism "petty bourgeois revolutionary character," "anarcho-socialism" and "left communism."

Such concepts as "revisionism," "dogmatism," "reformism," "sectarianism" and "adventurism" are used in describing the ideological-political content of opportunism and forms of its manifestation in the historically shaped terminology used by the CPSU and fraternal parties. For example, revisionism and dogmatism act as manifestations of right or "left" opportunism in the area of ideology and theoretical issues. Reformism is typical of right opportunism in the field of politics, and adventurism and sectarianism are typical of "left" opportunism. Opportunism is expressed in the question of nationalities in a digression from the Leninist party's theory and practice toward great-power chauvinism and local nationalism. The party provided precise criteria for every display of opportunism which it had occasion to encounter. Lenin's work "Marxism and Revisionism,"¹² for example, is a classic example of a definition of distinguishing features of right revisionism.

A hostile attitude toward the principle of democratic centralism and defense of factionalism always was common to right and "left" opportunists in matters of party-organizational development. Lenin and the party pointed out two basic forms of a display of factionalism: the faction and the deviation. Lenin considered a faction to be an organization united within the party by a special platform of views on party issues, with the faction members linked by "internal discipline."¹³ At one time the 10th RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Congress defined deviations as groups "with special platforms and with the desire to close up to a certain extent and form their own group discipline."¹⁴ In explaining the term "deviation," Lenin said that "we thus emphasize that we still see nothing here that has taken shape once and for all, nothing unconditional and quite definite, but only the beginning of a political direction which cannot remain unevaluated by the party."¹⁵

On the basis of a general classification of the chief directions and manifestations of opportunism in the working-class movement, the Leninist party provided a comprehensive description of specific opportunistic trends and groups operating in its ranks, and it defined and thoroughly analyzed trends in development of the danger of opportunism in the international arena. The basic right-opportunistic trends and groups in our party at various times were "economism," Menshevism, "liquidationism," the Kaménev-Zinov'yev group during the period of preparation and conduct of the October Revolution, and the right deviation of the late 1920's. The bearers of "left" opportunism were the recallists, "left communists," Trotskyites of the post-October period, anarcho-syndicalists and "detsists [democratic centralists]." Each anti-Leninist trend implemented its views in the activities of opportunistic groups acting as antiparty factions and deviations.

In determining the subordination of a particular opportunistic trend to the right or "left" wing one must take into account that right and "left" demands often appear side by side in the opportunists' platforms. That was the case for the Trotskyites, "detsists," Myasnikovites, the "Workers' Truth" group and others. For example, the 13th RKP(b) Conference pointed out the presence of "left" and right proposals in the platform of the Trotskyite opposition.¹⁶ Therefore it is necessary to expose the substance and form of the chief differences of a particular opportunistic trend with the party, which determine the character of the variety of opportunism. Lenin's analysis of centrism, which became rather widespread in parties of the 2d International, is the model of a party approach to this matter. Centrism bore features both of right and "left" opportunism but in main issues of politics all existing centrist groups adhered to right-opportunistic views. Therefore Lenin considered centrism to be right opportunism in disguise and called it a "bourgeois distortion of socialism."¹⁷

The entire history of international opportunism and of struggle against it shows that its individual trends and groups can undergo modification in adapting to a specific situation in order to consolidate their positions. In a number of cases there may be such metamorphoses as the transformation of right into "left" opportunists and vice versa. That was the case with Zinov'yev and Kamenev, who were transformed from right opportunists of the period of the October Revolution into "left" opportunists, adherents of Trotsky in 1926; or,

for example, with Bukharin, who changed from a "left communist" of the period of struggle for the Brest peace into a right deviationist in the years of socialist reconstruction.

In exposing and determining the depth of the danger of opportunism it is especially important to know the logic of development of intraparty differences which, as Lenin pointed out, is reflected in the fact that under certain conditions initially small divergences may later develop into significant irreconcilable divergences and cause an acute intraparty struggle or even a split of the party.¹⁸ More than once everything began with theoretical issues. It is generally known, however, that "opportunism in the program naturally is linked with opportunism in tactics and with opportunism in organizational matters."¹⁹ And so if the theoretical divergences were not overcome promptly they would develop without fail into a struggle on issues of current politics and would lead to the formation of factional groups in the party, and in a ruling party to the appearance of illegal hostile activity by oppositionists, as was the case, for example, with the Trotsky-Zinov'yev bloc. As a result party unity and its leading role in the revolutionary process were jeopardized.

Prompt exposure of the causes and conditions for the appearance of intraparty struggle was another important aspect of the party's work to overcome opportunism. Without knowing them it is difficult to understand what favors the opportunists' work and consequently to develop the most effective ways, methods and means of fighting them. The classics of Marxism-Leninism saw these reasons to lie above all in the objective social-economic and political situation connected with the existence of irreconcilable, antagonistic contradictions between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, with the existence of two opposite ideologies--bourgeois and proletarian--and with the penetration of bourgeois ideology into the ranks of the working-class movement and the proletarian party.

The objective factors leading to penetration of bourgeois ideology into the workers' party and the appearance of fundamental contradictions and intraparty struggle in the party are the sources of opportunism. Under conditions of capitalism the sources of opportunism include the influence of bourgeois ideology and the petty-bourgeois element on the proletariat and a certain portion of its party, the heterogeneity of the working class, the presence within it, along with a firm nucleus of cadres, of a workers' aristocracy and persons from nonproletarian classes, the penetration of petty-bourgeois fellow-travelers into the ranks of the proletarian party, and so on.²⁰

In his works Lenin not only pointed out these sources,²¹ but also thoroughly revealed their mechanism of action. "There must be fundamental reasons contained in the economic system and in the nature of development of all capitalist countries which constantly generate these deviations,"²² he wrote in December 1910 in explaining deviations within the working-class movement from the Marxism which was dominant in it. Lenin showed that the influence of

bourgeois ideology on the proletariat is a result of economic, political and ideological pressure of the bourgeoisie generated both by the very atmosphere of capitalist society and by certain specific actions of the bourgeoisie as a class.

Lenin believed the dialectical nature of social development, proceeding in contradictions and by means of contradictions, to be a permanent source of differences in workers' parties of the capitalist countries. As a result individuals or groups which have not been able to understand dialectical materialism and so to embrace and understand as a whole the sum of these contradictions elevate first one then another feature of capitalist development as a unilateral theory and system of tactics.

Lenin also included among sources of differences the very fact of the growth of the working-class movement and the attraction to it of more and more people inexperienced in class struggle, who bring into the working-class movement their own backward views, with time, attention and energy needed for their "training." He also believed their objective reason to be the unequal rate of development of capitalism in different countries and in different fields of the national economy, leading to the fact that backward economic relations or those lagging in their development generate fellow-travelers of the working-class movement who assimilate only some aspects of Marxism and are incapable of breaking decisively with bourgeois traditions and with the bourgeois-democratic "world outlook."²³

Petty-bourgeois relations--an invariable attribute of bourgeois society--also are included in the backward economic relationships. On the one hand capitalism is crowding out the petty bourgeoisie but on the other hand it is giving rise to more and more of its layers. "It is quite natural," remarks Lenin, "that this results with full inevitability in broad dissemination and constant revival of petty-bourgeois ideas and teachings in the most varied forms."²⁴

The bribery of the leaders of the working class is included above all in specific actions of the bourgeoisie to introduce its own ideology into the working-class movement. Lenin wrote in 1919 that "in all leading countries we see the corruption, bribery and movement of LEADERS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND its HEADS to the side of the bourgeoisie in connection with sops of the bourgeoisie, which gives these leaders 'lucrative spots,' gives the crumbs of their profits to these heads, shifts the burden of the worst paying and most unskilled work to imported backward workers, and reinforces the privilege of the 'aristocracy of the working class' in comparison with the mass."²⁵

Lenin saw an important reason for differences in the working-class movement in the changes of tactics of ruling classes in general and of the bourgeoisie in particular. He explained that if the bourgeoisie's tactics always were alike or at least were uniform, then the working class quickly would learn to respond to it with the appropriate, like tactics. In fact, however, the ruling circles of capitalist countries use two methods of fighting for their interests and defending their domination: the method of coercion and the method of liberalism. These methods first replace each other, then intertwine in various combinations.²⁶ As a result opportunistic trends in the

working-class movement live parasitically on the bourgeoisie's "liberalism" and the lengthy "peaceful" development of capitalism under conditions of bourgeois political freedoms creates favorable soil for opportunism.²⁷

To all this must be added the powerful ideological pressure on the proletariat exercised by an enormous bourgeois propaganda machine, the strength of which is increasing continuously. The danger of such pressure is aggravated by the fact that bourgeois ideology is enormously older than proletarian ideology, it is the dominant ideology in capitalist society, the proletariat is heterogeneous, and it includes, in addition to a staunch nucleus of cadres, a workers' aristocracy and persons from nonproletarian, basically petty-bourgeois, layers of the population. Both of the latter layers are "the chief social support" of opportunism in the working-class movement and "the conductors of bourgeois influence on the proletariat."²⁸ Lenin wrote that the workers' aristocracy is the "genuine social 'support' of the 2d International and of reformists and 'centrists'..."²⁹ With respect to persons from petty-bourgeois layers of the population, they can be the base both of right or "left" opportunism depending on the specific situation, inasmuch as the petty-bourgeois environment is a source both of ultrarevolutionary spirit and of obedience to capitalism and even of a "rabid" enthusiasm for bourgeois views and theories.³⁰ Lenin examined the effect of the noted objective causes of opportunism with consideration of specific conditions and above all the extent of capitalism's development and the position of a particular country in the world capitalism system.³¹

The sources of opportunism also are preserved in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. In analyzing the substance of particular anti-Leninist groupings which operated in its ranks after the October victory the party also uncovered the reasons for their appearance.³² They consisted of the stubborn resistance of remnants of capitalist classes, and the kulaks above all; presence of a hostile capitalist encirclement; influence of the petty bourgeoisie; the nonuniform nature of the working class; and retention of vestiges of the past in the awareness of part of the population.³³

As the building of socialism succeeded inner sources of opportunism weakened, and the victory of socialism eliminated its social-economic base within the country. Even under these conditions, however, the objective reasons for the appearance of the danger of opportunism did not fully disappear. They are connected with the presence of the imperialist camp and the existence of petty-bourgeois vestiges in the awareness of a portion of the citizens of socialist countries. The Decree of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasizes that "the strengthening of socialist awareness goes on in stubborn opposition against relapses of petty-bourgeois psychology and against the ideological influence of imperialist propaganda, which penetrates along various channels, on the awareness of a certain portion of the population."³⁴

In analyzing the reasons for the appearance of opportunism the party also always considered subjective factors, i.e., the shortcomings in intraparty work which contributed to the penetration of unstable elements into its ranks. For example, the 11th RKP(b) Conference (December 1921) pointed out three main

groups of deficiencies in the NEP [New Economic Policy] period which undermined the party's solidarity and unity: "a. Shortcomings relating to the incorrect organization of party machinery or to incorrect work methods of this machinery; b. Shortcomings relating to a weakness of ideological indoctrination and comradely cohesiveness caused chiefly by the presence of a considerable number of new party members of the post-revolutionary period; c. Shortcomings connected with the party's heterogeneous social composition..."³⁵

But even the presence of such factors is not enough for opportunists to unfold extensive activity. As Lenin noted, even after getting into the party and creating a certain base for themselves there, opportunists cannot aggravate the intraparty atmosphere at any time at their discretion. Specific conditions also are needed for this which can be called preconditions for an aggravation of intraparty struggle. The most important precondition of this sort is a substantial change in the situation surrounding the party, specific turning points in the proletariat's class struggle, and social-economic and political crises. Lenin wrote that "opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution who in peacetime conduct their bourgeois work secretly while taking shelter within workers' parties, and at a time of crisis they IMMEDIATELY are open allies of the ENTIRE united bourgeoisie from the conservative to the most radical and democratic, from free-thinking to religious and clerical."³⁶

Another precondition for an aggravation of intraparty struggle is either the appearance of perceptible difficulties in developing and conducting the party's political line or mistakes made in so doing which the opportunists use for their own purposes. Yu. V. Andropov said at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that "one has to pay for mistakes in politics. When the Communist Party's leading role weakens, the danger arises of sliding to the bourgeois-reformist path of development."³⁷ Under the leadership of Lenin and the Leninist Central Committee, our party always took a correct general line and avoided serious mistakes in its practical work. Nevertheless, however, there were certain mistakes in its work provoked, in a number of cases, by the way, by the opportunists. As a rule the party itself exposed and corrected them but in some cases the opportunists still succeeded in taking advantage of them. For example, a distortion of the RKP(b) Central Committee's line on the military issue by Trotsky was used by the "military opposition" to unfold its antiparty work.³⁸

A very important place in assuring success of the struggle against opportunism rests with the ways, specific methods and means of overcoming the danger of opportunism which have been developed by the party. An analysis of Lenin's works and CPSU documents permits singling out the following ways: 1. The party's determination and improvement of those aspects of party work which provide it with necessary favorable conditions for successful struggle against opportunism both within and without the party ranks; 2. The party's development and use of methods and means of direct struggle against opportunistic trends and groups.

The first way includes all those aspects of party activity which determine the correctness of its political leadership and create a healthy intraparty atmosphere hindering manifestations of opportunism in its ranks. Above all this is allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and its creative development, and correctness of the party's general line and current politics. As emphasized at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the strength of party politics lies "in its scientific substantiation and in reliance on the most advanced, constantly developing Marxist-Leninist theory."³⁹

The correctness and substantiation of the party's scientific concepts and their inseparable link not only with the proletariat's ultimate tasks, but also with demands of a specific historical situation, are a very important obstacle against opportunistic attempts to distort party theory and politics. It was in the work "What's to be Done?" that Lenin pointed out the dependence of a successful struggle against opportunism on the party's successful theoretical work.⁴⁰ Lenin stressed that opportunism cannot be fought "by means of programs alone, but only by means of seeing to it steadfastly that they really are implemented."⁴¹

Lenin saw the criterion of the correctness of applying Marxism to development of the party's general line and politics in the pre-October period to lie in successes of the Bolsheviks' revolutionary work and, after the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the Soviet people's victories at Civil War fronts and in building socialism. He gave an enormous amount of attention here to the question of strengthening party ties with the masses and above all with the working class as well as with the peasantry, emphasizing that the strictest discipline, without which a unity of party ranks is inconceivable, is maintained, tested and reinforced by the party's ability "to find contact, to close with and to a certain extent, if you like, to merge with the broadest mass of toilers and with the proletarian mass above all, BUT ALSO WITH THE NONPROLETARIAN toiling mass."⁴² With this statement of the matter there remains no place for the influence of forces hostile to socialism on interrelationships between the party and the masses. The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum restated the need to guard these ties vigilantly and develop them. "If the link between the party and people is lost," said Yu. V. Andropov, "self-styled pretenders to the role of spokesmen for the workers' interests appear in the resulting vacuum."⁴³

The workers' support of the party's general line and politics creates favorable conditions for successful struggle against opportunism. Correctness of the party line in turn is a necessary condition for solidarity of the party masses themselves about leading party entities, which hinders or fully precludes the development of opportunistic activity within it.

Lenin teaches that in order to create such an intraparty atmosphere it is necessary above all to see that all party members strictly follow its Program and Bylaws and to strengthen party discipline. The Party Bylaws give each party member the right of broad criticism and an opportunity to advance his suggestions. But criticism must unfold within the framework of the Program and it must strengthen and not destroy the party nor break it into separate factional groups. In the first period of the RSDRP's development intraparty

struggle led to the appearance of factions in its ranks, although this contradicted the principle of democratic centralism, which was the basis on which our party was built. The 10th RKP(b) Congress (March 1921) adopted a special resolution officially banning the existence of factional groups in the party.⁴⁴

Another necessary condition for successful struggle against opportunism is the elimination of those subjective reasons which undermine party solidarity.

There must be a constant improvement of all aspects of intraparty life and of work methods in conformity with the specific situation to this end. An instructive example in this respect as applied to conditions of NEP were the activities aimed against the danger of opportunism developed by the 13th RKP(b) Conference (January 1924). They were recorded in the resolution entitled "On Results of the Discussion and About the Petty-Bourgeois Deviation in the Party."⁴⁵

The CPSU's historical experience shows that the most effective measures to overcome subjective reasons for the appearance of opportunism in its ranks were: a. IN THE AREA OF ORGANIZATIONAL-PARTY WORK--steps for the proper combination of democratism and centralism in the party, comprehensive development of democracy and strengthening of centralism depending on the specific situation, development of criticism and self-criticism, introduction of a Leninist work style, and creation and constant perfection of a cadre training system; b. IN THE AREA OF IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION OF PARTY MEMBERS--steps to uplift the party members' general educational level, organization of a goal-oriented system for the party members' study of Marxist-Leninist theory and CPSU history and politics, and extensive inclusion of party members in agitprop work; c. IN THE AREA OF A GROWTH AND REGULATION OF THE PARTY'S SOCIAL MAKE-UP--strengthening of the workers' nucleus in the party, a systematic purging of party ranks of persons not justifying the high title of party member, and steps to improve acceptance into the party. An important aspect of the party's work to reinforce its unity and authority was the creation, by resolution of the 9th RKP(b) Conference and the 10th party congress, of such special establishments as the Central Control Commission and local control commissions, later transformed into party commissions.

During the development and application of methods for the immediate, direct overcoming of the danger of opportunism the party proceeded from Lenin's conclusion about the need for "a struggle on two flanks"⁴⁶ and on two fronts--against right and "left" opportunism. Lenin advanced this task at once as soon as a "left" variety of opportunism--recallism and ultimatism--appeared in party ranks along with right opportunism. He pointed out in his book "The Children's Disease of 'Leftism' in Communism"⁴⁷ that young fraternal parties had to pay special attention to the importance of accomplishing this task.

The application of Lenin's conclusion envisaged a simultaneous struggle against right and "left" opportunism and its systematic, continuous exposure; a struggle not only against directly opportunistic views, but also against a conciliatory attitude toward them. At the same time, Lenin and the party always determined which opportunistic direction and which of its specific forms represented the chief danger at a point in time and concentrated the main attack against them.

Prior to the October victory the chief danger in the party was the right danger; it was "left" opportunism in the first years of Soviet power right up until the defeat of the Trotsky-Zinov'yev bloc; and later, in the late 1920's and early 1930's it was again right opportunism.

Since intraparty struggle diverted the party from accomplishing creative tasks there was a fully natural attempt by the Leninist nucleus of the Central Committee to resolve differences which arose within its controlling entities without giving the opportunists an opportunity to shift subversive actions to local party organizations. Lenin emphasized that "we must see to it that differences among party members are discussed quietly and on the substance of the matter and that these differences cannot hinder our work, cannot introduce disorganization to our activities and cannot retard the proper functioning of our central establishments."⁴⁸ Lenin and his supporters in the Central Committee did not allow even the slightest attempts to conceal anything from the party masses. "MORE LIGHT," he wrote back at the dawn of Bolshevism, "let the party know EVERYTHING, let it be given ALL, DECISIVELY ALL MATERIAL for an evaluation of any and all differences, returns to revisionism, deviations from discipline and so on."⁴⁹ The role of broad party masses in strengthening party ranks became especially significant when central party entities did not succeed in resolving differences in their midst and when intraparty struggle penetrated to local party organizations. Experience shows that it was in these instances that actions and support of the broad masses and above all the party's working and proletarian nucleus, assured the Leninist Central Committee of success in the struggle against opportunists. Rank-and-file party members and local party organizations did not simply support controlling party entities in the struggle against the opposition, but they themselves even advanced proposals to strengthen the unity of party ranks. It was not by chance that in formulating ways to overcome differences Lenin emphasized: "Let there be more trust in the independent judgement of the entire mass of party workers..."⁵⁰ Thus the reliance of the party's Leninist center on the party masses and above all on their proletarian portion in the struggle against opportunism was a reliable means of overcoming the danger of opportunism. A deciding place in this was played by broad publicity which, in Lenin's words, "is the surest and only reliable means for avoiding splits which are avoidable and for reducing to a minimum the harm from those splits which already have become inevitable."⁵¹

The basic method of struggle against anti-Leninist groups and trends was the method of ideological exposure and ideological influence on them. Using this method the party exposed the antiparty essence and anti-Leninist content of opportunists' views and actions, isolated them from the party masses and the working class and helped party members who had strayed from the path assume correct positions. For example, at the height of discussion on trade unions Lenin wrote in the article "The Party Crisis": "All party members must undertake TO STUDY with complete composure and supreme care 1. The substance of differences and 2. The development of party struggle. Both are necessary since the substance of differences is developed, explained and specified (and quite often alters appearance) DURING THE STRUGGLE which after passing through various stages always shows us at each stage NOT the same make-up and number of persons struggling, NOT the same positions in the struggle, and so on. Both

must be STUDIED, demanding without fail the most accurate documents which have been printed and are accessible to a check from all aspects."⁵²

The theoretical base of an ideological exposure of opportunism comprises the works of K. Marx and F. Engels, of V. I. Lenin, and prominent party figures; and resolutions of its congresses, conferences and Central Committee plenums. The practical work of explaining the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist character of opportunists made up an important aspect of party work both before and after the victory of the October Revolution. As emphasized by the 13th party congress, placing the study of party history at the proper level had to be one of its most important parts.⁵³

In the struggle against the danger of opportunism the party also attached great importance to the method of organizational influence on opportunists. Lenin deemed it necessary to carry on "not only an ideological struggle" against opportunism, "but also to remove this monstrous growth from workers' parties, to exclude these tactics alien to the proletariat from the organization, and to have a full break with them."⁵⁴ Organizational propositions aimed at preserving party unity are formulated in the Party Bylaws. Their general expression is a demand to follow the Bylaws and be obedient to party discipline. The Party Bylaws in effect in the pre-October period of party development provided only for exclusion from the party for nonfulfillment of party decisions. Differentiated party punishments were introduced when the Bolshevik Party became the ruling party. The 10th RKP(b) Congress prohibited any factions, stressing that "nonfulfillment of this decree of the congress must entail unconditional and immediate expulsion from the party."⁵⁵ At the same time it is apropos to note that the party never abused organizational measures. Party punishments were applied against opportunists only when measures of ideological influence proved insufficient in order to force the opposition to cease violating the Party Bylaws and party resolutions. The party performed much indoctrinal work with vacillating party members and those participants of antiparty groups who had departed from opposition activity. It did not take vengeance on them but, to the contrary, included them in active party work. There were many such examples. For example, the 11th RKP(b) Congress stated directly that "the party on the whole has taken all steps to prevent any kind of persecution for previous faction activity."⁵⁶ It is also known that the majority of rank-and-file participants of the Trotsky-Zinov'yev bloc expelled from the party subsequently were restored in its ranks on certain conditions.

Another component of the historical experience of the CPSU's struggle against opportunism is the development of a line of conduct with respect to apostates from Marxism in the 2d International, the Comintern and the contemporary international communist movement.

The basic tasks of the struggle against opportunism are identical for all workers' and communist parties. Lenin's statement on each party's use of the experience of other fraternal parties and international organizations of Marxists is of enormous importance in this regard. He wrote that "now it is

a matter of the party members of each country considering quite consciously both the basic fundamental tasks of the struggle against opportunism and 'left' doctrinairism as well as the SPECIFIC FEATURES which this struggle assumes and inevitably must assume in each individual country in conformity with its original features of economics, politics and culture, its national make-up (Ireland and so on), its colonies, its religious divisions and so on and so on."⁵⁷

Lenin's elaboration of precise, clear tactics with respect to different forms of international opportunism is of fundamental importance. In the period of existence of the 2d International Lenin came out against its leaders' absolutization of party unity based on Marxists' unprincipled compromise with opportunists, and he substantiated the course toward breaking with the opportunists and solidifying the revolutionary wing of international social democracy. Lenin insisted especially on conducting this course from the beginning of World War I when it became apparent that there was a direct movement by leaders of the 2d International to the side of the bourgeoisie and that they were being transformed into social chauvinists. "We do not preach unity within PRESENT (predominating in the 2d International) socialist parties," he wrote in 1915. "To the contrary, we insist on a BREAK with the opportunists."⁵⁸ At the same time, Lenin taught flexibility in conducting such a course and suggested that the specific situation in each party be considered in determining the time for accomplishing the break.⁵⁹ Lenin also substantiated this same line of conduct for the Zimmerwald Association, where the centrists had the majority. "Split or rot" was how he posed the issue in 1916 concerning this majority, which dreamed of unity with social chauvinism and did not see the actual split of the International.⁶⁰

In the period of the Comintern's creation Lenin formulated conditions for acceptance into this organization which blocked the penetration of opportunism into its ranks, and he defined the Comintern's role and duty in assisting young communist parties in their struggle for unity of their ranks. The chief form of assistance was ideological exposure of opportunism in these parties. At the same time, as an international organization the Comintern also used organizational measures in necessary cases for normalizing the situation in individual parties. In all instances Lenin and the Comintern displayed a maximum of care in analyzing such a situation and tried to normalize it as painlessly as possible.

After dissolution of the Comintern the Marxist-Leninist parties used different forms for strengthening their international unity and developing a common line in the struggle against opportunism: international conferences on a regional and world scale, bilateral meetings, an exchange of work experience, discussion of problems which arose in the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA and so on.

Opportunism has many faces and is tenacious. While reasons for its appearance exist one always has to reckon with the possibility of its appearance and with its corrupting influence on the revolutionary processes in countries of capitalism and on processes of building a new life in socialist countries. This is why Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's statement that it is necessary "not to erode

Marxist-Leninist teaching but, to the contrary, struggle for its purity and develop it creatively--this is the path to an understanding and resolution of new problems"⁶¹ is so important.

The historical experience of the CPSU's struggle against opportunism was a major contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism. A substantial component of it was the resolution by Lenin and the party of methodological issues of exposing and overcoming opportunism and on this basis creating effective methods and techniques for fighting opportunistic trends and groups. Hammered out in the dialectical process of struggle within the party and against apostates from Marxism beyond its limits, these methods and techniques became a formidable weapon in the CPSU's hands in its struggle against opportunism.

The international importance of our party's historical experience is permanent. The practice of the international communist movement shows that those proletarian vanguards which use it imaginatively and which successfully strengthen the unity of their ranks are a firm component of this movement.

Attempts which still exist in places to ignore the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties are groundless and doomed in the final account to failure. They are attempts, as noted by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Comrade M. V. Zimyanin, "to replace a truly scientific analysis of new social phenomena with a composition of speculative utopias and to substitute for development of a strategy leading to genuinely socialist transformations with a search for so-called 'alternative models' of socialism which no one ever has succeeded in implementing."⁶²

The historical experience of the CPSU's struggle against opportunism, like the experience of other Marxist-Leninist parties, will continue to play its positive role in the development and strengthening of the world communist movement and in resolution of the tasks facing it.

FOOTNOTES

1. "O 80-letii Vtorogo s"yezda RSDRP. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS 31 marta 1983 goda" [On the 80th Anniversary of the 2d RSDRP Congress: CPSU Central Committee Decree Dated 31 March 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 12.
2. See "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS, 14--15 iyunya 1983 goda" [Materials of the 14-15 June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum], Moscow, 1983, p 22.

3. See B. A. Abramov, "Defeat of the Trotsky-Zinov'yev Antiparty Bloc," VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 6, 1959; "Iz istorii bor'by leninskoy partii protiv opportunizma" [From the History of the Leninist Party's Struggle Against Opportunism], Moscow, 1966; V. M. Ivanov and A. N. Shmelev, "Leninizm i ideyno-politicheskiy razgrom trotskizma" [Leninism and the Ideological-Political Defeat of Trotskyism], Leningrad, 1970; S. P. Trapeznikov, "Na krutykh poverotakh istorii" [On the Sharp Turns of History] (From lessons of the struggle for scientific socialism and against revisionist trends), Moscow, 1972; A. G. Titov, A. M. Smirnov and N. D. Shalagin, "Bor'ba Kommunisticheskoy partii s antileninskimi gruppami i techeniyami v posleoktyabr'skiy period (1917--1934 gg.)" [Communist Party Struggle Against Anti-Leninist Groups and Trends in the Post-October Period (1917-1934)], Moscow, 1974; "Istoricheskiy opyt bor'by KPSS protiv trotskizma" [Historical Experience of the CPSU's Struggle Against Trotskyism], Moscow, 1975; S. L. Dmitriyenko, "Bor'ba KPSS za yedinstvo svoikh ryadov (oktyabr' 1917--1937 gg.)" [The CPSU's Struggle for Unity of Its Ranks (October 1917-1937)], Moscow, 1976; F. M. Vaganov, "Pravyy uklon v VKP(b) i yego razgrom (1928-1930 gg.)" [Right Deviation in the VKP(b) and Its Defeat (1928-1930)], Moscow, 1977; N. A. Slamikhin, "Razoblacheniye V. I. Leninyu teorii i praktiki trotskizma (1917--1924 gg.)" [V. I. Lenin's Exposure of the Theory and Practice of Trotskyism (1917-1924)], Moscow, 1977; "Bol'shevizm i reformizm" [Bolshevism and Reformism], Moscow, 1978; "Istoricheskoye znachenije bor'by KPSS protiv pravogo i "levogo" opportunizma" [Historical Importance of the CPSU's Struggle Against Right and "Left" Opportunism], Moscow, 1980; N. Ye. Ovcharenko, "V. I. Lenin's Struggle Against Opportunism in the International Arena in the Period of Creation of a New Type of Party," VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 4, 1980; "Bor'ba leninskoy partii protiv melkoburzhuaznykh grupp i techeniy" [The Leninist Party's Struggle Against Petty-Bourgeois Groups and Trends], Moscow, 1981; "Stroitel'stvo sotsializma v SSSR i krakh opportunizma" [Building Socialism in the USSR and the Downfall of Opportunism], Moscow, 1982, and others.
4. See: Z. I. Klyucheva, "Ideynoye i organizatsionnoye ukrepleniye Kommunisticheskoy partii v usloviyakh bor'by za postroyeniye sotsializma" [Ideological and Organizational Strengthening of the Communist Party Under Conditions of a Struggle for Building Socialism], Moscow, 1970; A. G. Titov, "On Methods and Means of the CPSU's Struggle Against Opportunism in the Transition Period from Capitalism to Socialism," VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 8, 1979; Ye. V. Primerov, "Bor'ba partii za leninskoye yedinstvo svoikh ryadov (1921--1924 gg.)" [The Party's Struggle for Leninist Unity of Its Ranks (1921-1924)], Lvov, 1979; "Stroitel'stvo sotsializma v SSSR i krakh opportunizma," Moscow, 1982, and others.
5. See V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works], XXIV, 253.
6. Ibid., XIX, 412.
7. See Lenin, VIII, 292-293; XXII, 104; XLIV, 124.

8. Ibid., XXIV, 253-254.
9. Ibid., XIII, 245.
10. Ibid., XXVI, 150-151.
11. See Lenin, VI, 9; 14; VII, 353; XX, 62; XXV, 180, 182; XXXVIII, 88, and others. For a description of basic directions and varieties of opportunism see appropriate works of Lenin (subject index to Lenin's "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," pp 509, 566, 583, 588, 599), and documentary publication "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums] (Reference Volume, pp 201, 217, 225).
12. See Lenin, XVII, 19-24.
13. Ibid., XX, 342.
14. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 2, Moscow, 1980, p 219.
15. Lenin, XLIII, 98-99.
16. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 2, p 510.
17. Lenin, XXXVIII, 88.
18. See Lenin, XLII, 269.
19. Ibid., VIII, 386.
20. See "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [CPSU History], 6th ed., Moscow, 1982, p 767.
21. See Lenin, VII, 213-214; VI, 112-113; XX, 305-307; XXIII, 72; XXXIX, 190; XLI, 14-15, and others.
22. Ibid., XX, 62.
23. See Lenin, XX, 65-66.
24. Ibid., VII, 214.
25. Ibid., XXXIX, 190.
26. See Lenin, XX, 67-68.
27. See Lenin, XX, 305; XXVI, 102.
28. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 1, p 414.

29. Lenin, XLI, 193.
30. See Lenin, XLI, 14-15.
31. See Lenin, XVI, 112-113; XXV, 122; XLI, 193, 231.
32. See Lenin, XXXVI, 290, 364; XLI, 103; XLIII, 93; "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 2, pp 14, 31, 208, 221, 273, 408, 511; Vol 3, pp 350, 401; Vol 4, pp 145, 333, and others.
33. See "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza," 6th ed., 1982, p 768.
34. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda," p 73.
35. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 2, p 308.
36. Lenin, XXVI, 114.
37. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda," p 21.
38. See "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza," Vol 3, Book 2, Moscow, 1968, pp 274-278.
39. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda," p 69.
40. See Lenin, VI, 19.
41. Ibid., Vol XXX, 159.
42. Ibid., XLI, 7.
43. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda," p 21.
44. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 2, pp 218-221.
45. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 2, pp 507-515.
46. Lenin, XIX, 148.
47. See Lenin, XLI, 75, 94.
48. Ibid., VIII, 115.
49. Ibid., p 94.

50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., p 95.
52. Ibid., XLII, 234-235.
53. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 2, p 513.
54. Lenin, XXVII, 13.
55. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyah...", Vol 2, p 220.
56. Ibid., p 368.
57. Lenin, XLI, 76.
58. Ibid., XXVII, 73.
59. See Lenin, XLIX, 105.
60. See Lenin, XXVII, 294-295.
61. Yu. V. Andropov, "Ucheniye Karla Marksа i nekotoryye voprosy sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva v SSSR" [The Teaching of Karl Marx and Some Issues of Building Socialism in the USSR], Moscow, 1983, p 30.
62. M. V. Zimyanin, "Partiya revolyutsionnogo deystviya. Doklad na torzhestvennom zasedanii v Moskve, posvyashchennom 80-letiyu II s"yezda RSDRP, 29 iyulya 1983 goda" [A Party of Revolutionary Action: Report at Ceremonial Session in Moscow Dedicated to the 80th Anniversary of the 2d RSDRP Congress, 29 July 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 14.

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6904
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NATIONAL

RAYON NEWSPAPERS URGED TO FOCUS ON LOCAL INTERESTS, RAISE QUALITY

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by A. Kamenev, assistant editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, propaganda department: "The Rayon Newspaper"]

[Excerpts] The rayon newspaper is read by the manager and engineer, the school-teacher and his pupil, the agronomist and livestock tender on the kolkhoz, the rural doctor and tractor driver--they all want to know what is happening in their rayon, what is going on at "home." But sociologists maintain that in questions about the life of one's own rayon, city, or even one's own collective, only one out of every four or five readers is more or less adequately informed. This was noted with concern also at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "Sometimes people know more about what is going on in another country at the far end of the earth than about affairs in their own city or rayon." This means that rayon newspapers are not fully performing their functions.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is treating the various problems of rayon newspapers with serious attention. Some time ago, a letter was published by the editor of SOVETSKAYA PRIARGUNYA in the Chita Oblast, V. Konokh, with the title "The Raykom and the Newspaper," in which the author discussed interrelationships with the party committee. There has been talk about this and other problems at the newspaper's "roundtable" as well.

The state of the local press alarms not only journalists but readers as well. And this is for good reason: it is the most widely distributed type of publication, accounting for more than half of the country's newspaper circulation. This attests to its prevalence and thus its great latent possibilities for influencing readers and decisions on social and economic questions.

We know, of course, that a newspaper achieves success when it is supported by a wide and active group of writers, when its articles are well-reasoned, and when criticism is conducted along principal party positions. Given this, a "rayon paper" can be effective, too.

The rayon agro-industrial associations today need the more earnest support of the local press. Now during the creation of new structures for managing agricultural production, particular relevance is assumed by questions concerning the improvement of the style and methods of ideological and organizational

activity of the rural party raykom. There is the creation of RAPO [rayon agro-industrial association]--but there is still the problem of creating new relationships among people united by a single objective and by a single concern for the end results of common labor. This task, it seems, should be in the purview of the rayon newspaper. The present report-and-election meetings in the party organizations can serve well as an occasion for serious discussion. Their activeness depends much on how well the newspaper was able to orient the rural communists on the most current questions.

The rayon paper is closer to the reader than are other publications and thus better knows and feels any changes in his needs, interests, etc. This is a very important condition in increasing the effectualness and effectiveness of a publication. The rural dweller expects from his paper primarily reports on the life of his rayon. He wants to know how things stand in the neighboring farm and what kinds of problems are presently being resolved by the rayon's party committee and executive committee. It is thus important that its articles focus above all on shedding light on local happenings and that this be done on a suitable professional level. As was remarked at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum many newspapers unfortunately "often try merely to copy the national and oblast papers and do not fully meet their readers' needs." The most widespread reproaches leveled against the papers are the low quality of the publications, the dominance of numerical data, and the absence of journalistic reporting. To their credit, the rayon journalists are fairly self-critical in judging their work.

A long-standing truth that will never go out of fashion asserts that the effectiveness of a paper depends on how solid and deep its ties are with the party committee. There are many examples of good cooperation. And the reason is clear: a newspaper is an instrument of political leadership which helps the raykom communicate the party line to the masses. But are the party committees always making good use of their newspaper?

Indeed, there are still frequent cases of a party committee replacing an editor, pulling rank over trifles, demanding explanations for criticism of economic leaders--regarding such criticism only as an affront to their authority. In difference to the newspaper is evident also in the fact that various party committees are sometimes remiss in setting the principal, high-priority objectives of their newspapers, underestimating their role and place in inner-party work. It also happens that a raykom sees as its job only the supervision of the editors' work. Supervision is essential, of course, but least of all in the form of intrusive intervention in the routine work of a paper's staff, or of demands for compulsory "coordination" of all materials to be published--especially those that are critical.

When we speak of strengthening party leadership, we mean primarily the upgrading of standards for the content of newspapers and for the variety of forms for enlightening readers about the life and activity of working collectives. And, of course, rendering daily assistance to the journalists is important as well. We must not only create normal working conditions for them--albeit this is very important--but it is crucial that they be more fully informed, that there is concern for their training, and that truly creative conditions are established in the newspaper office.

For the rayon newspaper to attain great effectiveness, all these things are important: the selection and training of journalistic staffs, an active position for the newspaper itself, the development of a workers and rural movement. If the party committee devotes due attention to this, the printed word will be transformed into actual deeds. As we continue the discussion of problems of rayon newspapers, we want to focus attention on such questions as party leadership of the paper, the interrelationship of the party committee and editorial staff, the preparation of journalistic personnel, raising the quality of newspaper publications, and--as the result of all this--increasing the effectiveness of the rayon paper. We invite journalists, party workers, readers--everybody who is interested in the affairs and concerns of the local press--to take part in this discussion.

9992

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NATIONAL

PROBLEMS OF COLLECTIVE CONTRACT BRIGADES DISCUSSED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by V. Vershinin, candidate of economic sciences: "Why Did the Link Come Undone?"]

[Text] It is no secret that not nearly all of the collectives that became contract brigades are working very effectively. Many are even disbanding altogether after working 1 or 2 years. There are many reasons for this.

Let us begin with the size of the collective. On this subject, there is no unanimity. One opinion holds that it should be small--something on the order of 10 to 12 people. Another asserts that this is not large enough to tend rotating crops adequately and to allow more effective use of equipment. Here, a brigade of 20 to 30 people is necessary.

We think that it would be useful to hear both sides. With respect to work standards and personal relations, the small unit is easier to raise. It is also simpler to supervise. But in real life the scale of crop rotation and the need to concentrate equipment densely and in coordination does not permit the division of the collective into small units. Presently existing forms of organizing work are largely dictated by production itself and its concentration. While using the contract in small collectives, ways and means of converting fairly large collectives to contracts must be sought--although they are less efficient. We cannot cease looking in this direction.

What is hampering the search? In our view, there are several possible arrangements for collective pay for production by members of a link or brigade. The time-worked payment method with which the contract is presently identified provides equal pay for time worked during a year without calculation of the amount of work done. As has been shown by extensive experience over 20 years, this is possible only when the workers are relatively equally qualified and have approximately the same attitude toward work, something common in small collectives. In larger groups with time-worked wages, performance as a rule sinks to the level of the worse worker.

In the overwhelming majority of brigades and links today, the amount of a wage is dependent on work performed. In Orlov Oblast a wage is paid in proportion to a shift norm. In the Kolkhoz imeni 20th Party Congress in Dinskiy Rayon in

Krasnodarskiy Kray, a wage is paid by time worked. In Sarayevsky Rayon in Ryazanskiy Oblast, the type of tractor and difficulty of work performed are calculated, and the final wage amount is figured on the coefficients, where the basic value is again assigned to the individual productivity of each member.

Which is better, and which is worse? In our view, it is an internal matter for the contract collective to settle. At the All-Union Conference in Belgorod there was discussion concerning the problems of organized work connected with the introduction of contract collectives in kolkhoz and sovkhoz production, and the subject went immediately to the intolerable wage leveling factor and the need to grant broader rights to the contract collectives. In the meantime, the typical situation with wages of workers on sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises provides a single form of advance: the time-worked wage.

The concept of cost-accounting autonomy for the contract collectives is broad--embracing organizational, economic, and social measures--and if adopted would assure the fulfillment of the contract volume of work on the basis of the powers and leadership of the collective itself. Raising a contract collective and setting its size requires planning that will assure its autonomy and provide a uniform work load for all its members.

The contract agreement of course has a bilateral character, including fixed obligations on the part of the administration. What happens if it is not fulfilled? Who will compensate the link for the benefit lost because of this? There is no stipulation for such compensation in the agreement. The link has no legal recourse. Measures must be devised for the legal protection of the cost-accounting autonomy of contract collectives.

In closing, I would like to offer a thought concerning the need for broader experiments in this field: Let's put theory aside and let the viability of this or that form of organization and work compensation be demonstrated pragmatically.

9992
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NATIONAL

LANGUAGE RIGHTS OF DEFENDANT OUTLINED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA in Russian No 20, Oct 83 [signed to press 6 Oct 83] p 15

[Article by A. Kalmykov, lieutenant colonel of justice and M. Ashirbekova: "National Language of Legal Proceedings and Guaranteeing the Defendant the Right to a Defense"]

[Text] According to Statute 159 of the USSR Constitution, legal proceedings are conducted in the language of the union or autonomous republic, the autonomous oblast, the autonomous okrug or in the language of the majority of the population in the given locale. Those persons taking part in the proceedings who do not speak the language in which the proceedings are being conducted are guaranteed the right of full acquaintance with the materials of the proceedings, participation in the legal proceedings through a translator and the right to defend themselves in their native tongue.

The constitutional principle of a national language for the proceedings makes it possible to guarantee equality to all citizens in a criminal trial, regardless of their national affiliation. This principle applies not only to the stage of the court examination, but also to the language in which the preliminary examination is conducted. The participation of a translator is required with the execution of any investigatory act accomplished with the participation of a person who does not speak the language of the legal proceedings.

In accordance with Section 3, Statute 17 of the RSFSR UPK [criminal code], investigatory and trial documents are presented to the defendant, translated into his native language or another language that he knows. The purpose of these legal instructions is that the defendant might realize his right to a defense, including all of the procedural rights and means that guarantee him the real opportunity to defend his interests in a criminal trial. In a decree by the USSR Supreme Soviet Plenum on 16 June 1978 "The Practice of Court Administration of Laws Guaranteeing the Defendant the Right to a Defense" it is stated that "any limitation of the rights of the accused, the defendant, the person defending him due to lack of familiarity with the language in which the proceedings are being conducted, and unavailability to these persons of the opportunity to use their native language at any stage of the proceedings constitutes a substantial breach in the standards of criminal and trial law" (p 13).

The legally stipulated right of the defendant to use his own language and the services of a translator in the legal proceedings concerning his case, the right to counsel and total familiarity with materials concerning the case are an integral part of the set of procedural rights and means guaranteeing the defendant the right to a defense.

On the strength of the interdependence of the principles in question, the effectiveness of what the defendant and counsel do depends largely on the underlying legislative confirmation of the rule on the language of the proceedings. We might mention in this regard that in guaranteeing the defendant the opportunity to become familiar with the investigatory and trial documents, Statute 17 of the UPK does not specify which of these documents are subject to translation. It is obvious that this includes those documents which in an established legal order are presented in copies to the defendant (the accused): the indictment; written notification of the cessation of criminal activity; determination of administrative session of the court, if the charge is changed while deciding the question of bringing the case to trial; records of the search and seizure of property, if these actions were performed by the defendant; sentencing.

There is an explanation in the juridical literature of the premise for stipulating by law the right of the defendant (the accused) to be presented with copies of the decision wherein proceedings are instituted against him, the decision on setting up the examination (except for cases stipulated in Section 4 Statute 184 UPK), the decision on cessation of the affair during the preliminary examination stage and determination of its cessation during the trial stage--the defendant is also to be presented with copies of the appeal or the supervisory determination. It is felt that presenting the defendant (the accused) who does not speak the language in which the proceedings are held with copies of the aforementioned procedural documents in his native tongue or another language that he knows would be in agreement with the general tendency toward humanizing the criminal process.

In all cases considered by a military tribunal, the defendants who do not speak the Russian language are presented with the following documents translated into their native language: the indictment, the sentence, the appeal and the procurator's objection to the appeal. They are familiarized with the remaining details of the case by means of an oral translation. However, in familiarizing the defendant who does not speak the language with the proceedings, particularly with the results of the examination, the level of education of the defendant must be taken into consideration, and when necessary provisions and terms of the examination conclusion that he does not understand must be explained to him. It seems that the judicial examinations themselves should be conducted by adhering to the national language in the proceedings. For example, in conducting a legal psychiatric examination, the expert questions the defendant for an explanation of data concerning his illnesses. The expert is interested in speech characteristics of the person being questioned, his psychological relationship to events of the past, etc. Of course, during a legal psychiatric examination of persons who do not speak the language of the proceedings, it becomes necessary for a translator to participate. Absence of a translator during a legal psychiatric examination of such people should be considered, in my opinion, a breach in standard criminal procedure legal order for obtaining a given type of evidence.

According to Section 2, Statute 49 of the UPK, participation of a counsel for the defense for persons not speaking the language in which proceedings are being conducted is mandatory from the moment the defendant is made aware of the termination of the preliminary examination and is acquainted with the entire progress of the case. Certain authors are justly doubtful of the effectiveness of counsel's participation in the affairs of persons who do not speak the language of the proceedings from the moment the preliminary examination is completed. We mention that in juridical literature the suggestion has already been offered to legalize entry of counsel for all affairs from the moment the defendant is charged. We feel that these suggestions are worthy of attention. Existing legislation makes it possible for counsel to be retained for participation in all affairs from the moment of charging only by decree of the procurator (Section 1, Statute 47 UPK).

It is felt that ignorance of the language in which the proceedings are held on the part of defendants is one of the most important reasons for a positive response to this request on the part of the prosecutor.

We propose that participation of a counsel from the moment a person is charged would provide timely help to him in the realization of his rights to a defense at the preliminary examination. This, in turn, would reduce the number of those sent for additional investigation of their cases, thereby allowing infringements due to principles of the national language in which the proceedings are conducted and of the provision of the right to a defense for the defendant.

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REGIONAL

UZBEK DEPUTY MINISTER OF HEALTH ON CONSTRUCTION SHORTFALL

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 17 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by M. Sirotinskiy, Uzbek SSR deputy minister of health: "Arrhythmia At Health Construction Sites"]

[Text] Among the most important tasks which are being solved by the party, a special place is being allotted to a work of enormous social significance -- the further expansion of health care. It is sufficient to say that expenditures for these purposes are continuously increasing in the republic and will reach during this year alone 58.7 million rubles. The commissioning of hospitals with 3,271 beds and polyclinics for 4,040 visits a shift have been planned. Health care installations, which are equipped with modern medical equipment, have been provided for.

How are the plans being fulfilled? Still poorly. The builders have assimilated only 30.8 million rubles during the first eight months of this year.

The organizations of Glavtashkentstroy are working extremely unsatisfactorily at erecting medical institutions. In May of this year, they promised during a meeting of the capital construction staff of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee to complete what had been planned; however, they have not kept their word. The training swimming pool of the Tashkent medical institute, the blood transfusion station of the republic's clinical hospital No 2, the therapeutic building with 150 beds at city hospital No 6, the production laboratory disinfection building in Sabir Rakhimovskiy Rayon, and an annex to the polyclinic for 100 visits in the VUZ settlement have not been handed over on time. The builders of trusts Nos 1, 3, 4, 6, and 153 have failed to assimilate 2,766,000 rubles.

What is the reason for this attitude of the construction organization directors toward medical projects? The question is still without an answer.

Here is what is happening. The builders of Trust No 6 have been "transferred" for some reason from the medical institute's projects to other construction sites. Thus, building No 1a of the republic's clinical hospital at the Tashkent medical institute, which was a project under construction last year, is faced for a second time with the threat of failure.

Work on the skin center with 100 beds, which was a priority project for this quarter, is not taking place. The annual plan for construction and assembly work is 700,000 rubles; only 40,000 rubles, or six percent of the plan, have been mastered during the first eight months. At the priority project of the year-- the oxygen station, the production plan has been fulfilled by 27 percent, and the plan for the construction of the new training building at the Tashkent medical institute -- by only 33 percent.

The construction workers of Glavtashkentstroy subunits are also not working on carried-over projects: the chamber building of the Kray Medicine Scientific Research Institute, the training laboratory building of the Tashkent institute for improving doctors, the republic sanitary and epidemiological station, the maternity hospital in Akmal Ikramovskiy Rayon, and others.

The Uzbek SSR Ministry of Construction has not insured the commissioning of the capacities of the clinical hospital at the Samarkand medical institute, of the pharmaceutical base in Karshi that was not commissioned the year before last and last year, of the stomatological polyclinic in Bukhara, of the special blood transfusion depot and station in Dzhizak, of the woman's consultation and oncological building in Karshi, of the polyclinic in Chirchik, etc. The ministry's organizations are also working unsatisfactorily on the priority projects of this year's fourth quarter such as the enterprise for repairing medical equipment in Karshi (the fulfillment of the tasks for the first eight months is 34 percent of the annual plan; the project has not been supplied with prefabricated reinforced concrete structures for a long time); the contagious disease hospital with 120 beds in Bukhara (the fulfillment of the tasks for this same period is 42 percent; the construction job has not been supplied with manpower and materials); an annex with 90 beds for the hospital in Samarkand (the assimilation of resources has reached 28 percent of the annual plan); and the children's hospital with 100 beds in Angren (the task has been fulfilled by 24 percent).

The construction of health care installations using all-union communist subbotniks [work donated to the state on days off or overtime] evokes special alarm. Out of the three million rubles allotted this year, only 561,000 rubles or 19 percent of the annual plan, have been assimilated during the first eight months.

Glavtashkentstroy had planned this year to assimilate 1,360,000 rubles on projects, which were being erected by resources from communist subbotniks and to commission a children's hospital with 120 beds at the Central Asian Pediatric Institute. Only 137,000 rubles, or 17 percent of the plan, have been mastered at these projects during the first eight months. The commissioning of the children's hospital had been planned for 1981 and 1982, but it was disrupted. Today, the general contractor--Construction Trust No 4 of Glavtashkentstroy -- has not presented a work front to the subconstructing organizations. Only 26 people are employed on the project (!) The assimilation of financial resources during the first eight months has reached only eight percent of the annual plan.

A maternity hospital with 130 beds and a polyclinic for 850 visits are being poorly constructed in Sergeliyskiy Rayon. The fulfillment of the tasks at these projects was 23 and 3 percent, respectively, during the first eight months.

They began to construct a maternity hospital with 200 beds in Oktyabr'skiy Rayon only in September of this year. The organizations of the republic's Ministry of Construction are working just as poorly on the construction of a maternity hospital with 130 beds in Dzhizak and a polyclinic for 500 visits in Namangan. The construction trusts of the Ministry of Rural Construction have assimilated only nine percent of the annual program during the first eight months in erecting a maternity hospital with 60 beds in Parkent, and they have still not begun to construct a building with 90 beds at the oblast hospital in Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon.

These facts testify that an alarming situation has been created in the construction of health care projects. With the failure to insure the commissioning of planned capacities this year, the volume of unfinished construction based on its status for 1 January 1984 will reach more than 140 percent (!) of the annual plan for state capital investments when the norm is 96. This can lead to the failure to fulfill the construction plan for health care projects in the 11th Five-Year Plan in general. This, naturally, contradicts the decisions of the November 1982 and June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

The republic's Glavtashkentstroy, Ministry of Construction and Ministry of Rural Construction have one way out: to fill all underway health care projects with workers, material and equipment during the time remaining until the end of the year and to assure their commissioning.

8802
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REGIONAL

UZBEK CP CC BURO DISCUSSES ECONOMIC TOPICS

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 Nov 83 p 1

[Article: "In the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] The progress in harvesting and purchasing raw cotton was examined during the regular session of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. Taking into account that there is a large amount of unharvested cotton, the obkoms, raykoms and gorkoms of the party; the ispolkoms of the councils of people's deputies; the agro-industrial associations; and the ministries and departments in the agro-industrial sector of the republic's economy were charged with redoubling their efforts during the final stage of the harvest and with insuring the fulfillment of the plans and socialist obligations for the purchasing of cotton by all farms, rayons and oblasts. Questions, which were connected with carrying out the wintering of the cattle at the required level and with increasing the production and purchasing of animal husbandry products were also discussed. The appropriate party committees and economic bodies received specific assignments.

The results of capital construction in the Uzbek SSR during the previous 10 months and the tasks of the construction and installation ministries and departments in the unconditional fulfillment of the plan for the commissioning of projects and contract works during 1983, were discussed. The bureau required that the directors of the construction and installation ministries and departments and the customers commission during November-December all of the underway projects, which have been provided for by the plan for this year, and warned them that they would bear personal responsibility for this. Special attention must be paid to overcoming the lags that are being tolerated in the construction of individual Food Program projects and of enterprises for the production of consumer goods.

The question of the economic and rational use of petroleum products was discussed. It was proposed that the party committees, councils of people's deputies, economic bodies, and public organizations direct the workers' efforts toward a radical improvement in the work to economically and carefully use petroleum products and that they continuously keep in mind that this is one of the most important conditions for the steady and intense development of the entire national economic complex.

The work of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources in providing technical and economic assistance to the developing countries was discussed.

Measures for a radical improvement in the production of fodder based on the rational use of irrigated lands in light of the decisions of the 9th Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum were examined. The republic's party obkoms and raykoms, councils of people's deputies, ministries and departments were entrusted with improving the organization for fulfilling the tasks of strengthening the livestock fodder base and with establishing unremitting control over their realization.

The work of the Andizhan party obkom in directing the training of skilled working cadre was examined, and specific measures for improving it were outlined.

Several other questions concerning party and economic organizational development, on which appropriate decisions were adopted, were also discussed.

8802
CSO: 1830/129

REGIONAL

UZBEK STATE PROCURATOR ON MEASURES AGAINST PETTY THEFT

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by N. Burikhodzhayev, Uzbek SSR procurator and state legal counselor second-class: "Where We Are Losing...."]

[Text] The harvesting campaign is becoming more and more intense. The republic's workers are using each fine day to collect the cotton and are trying to wring six million tons of "white gold" from the foul weather.

The workers in the procurator's office are also making their contribution to the common task. Together with the other law enforcement services, they are stopping embezzlements, damages and losses of cotton during harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing. During the days of hard work at harvest-time, a struggle against mismanagement and violations of labor and state discipline and equipment safety rules is being intensely waged. Workers from the republic procurator's office are on temporary duty to help procurators in the localities.

The directors of the majority of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and of other agricultural organizations have adopted measures to eliminate the reasons that are contributing to crop losses and to strengthen labor discipline among the kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers. Nevertheless, the required conclusions have not been drawn on a number of farms from the errors of past years; the negative phenomena come from here.

T. Norbayeva and R. Fakhritdinova, members of the Kolkhoz imeni Sverdlov in Pakhtachiyskiy Rayon, have had criminal proceedings instituted against them for misappropriating cotton. The procurator's office of Denauskiy Rayon is investigating a criminal case regarding Kh. Yuldashev, a worker in the non-departmental guard of the rayon's internal affairs section, in whose home 27 kilograms of raw cotton, which had been prepared for processing into yarn, had been found. A. Babadzhanov and T. Klychev, workers on the Sovkhoz imeni Akhunbabayev in Kokdalinskiy Rayon, have been fined by a people's court for embezzling cotton. Similar cases have been found on farms in Chirakchinskiy, Kamashinskiy, Guzarskiy, and Usman-Yusupovskiy Rayons.

Perhaps, it seems to some that a punishment for the appropriation of two-three kilograms of raw cotton is unnecessarily strict. However, if one takes

into account the fact that these cases are far from being isolated ones, it is possible to imagine the scope of the material losses being inflicted upon the state, not to mention the moral damage.

Here is another type of loss of a valuable product. O. Saribayev, A. Saribayev and R. Ibrakhimov, inhabitants of the Farkhad-5 settlement, grazed 17 head of cattle on the cotton field of the "Navoy" Sovkhoz in Khavastskiy Rayon. Because of the damage caused to the crops by the grazing cattle, the farm suffered 2,700 rubles of damages. The guilty persons will soon face a court for the cotton losses.

Cows and sheep, which graze on cotton fields, are not rare events. It is natural that criminal and administrative proceedings are instituted against the owners of livestock who act as irresponsible herdsmen. There are quite a few of them. The conclusion proceeds from this: It is necessary to protect the fields better.

Losses during the harvesting and transportation of cotton have not been eliminated. For example, up to 600 kilograms of raw cotton remained on each hectare of harvested area in the fields of the "Syrdar'ya" Sovkhoz in Frunzenskiy Rayon. Law enforcement bodies stepped in. The fields have now been cleaned and brigade leaders Alchinov, Khaitov and Utanov have been officially warned by the rayon's procurator.

On a majority of the farms in Arnasayskiy Rayon, trucks were not covered with a tarpaulin when the cotton was being transported. This was the cause of considerable losses. The guilty parties have been punished.

The interference of procurator bodies was required for these same reasons on the Kolkhoz imeni A. Nabihev and the "Shark Yulduzi" Kolkhoz in Khodzhaabadskiy Rayon, the "Kommunizm" Kolkhoz in Dzhalalkudukskiy Rayon, the Kolkhoz imeni U. Yusupov in Bukharskiy Rayon, and the "Leninizm" and "Oktyabr'" Kolkhozes in Peshkunskiy Rayons.

Violations of labor discipline have not been eliminated on a number of farms, and this is significantly decreasing harvesting rates. On the "Lenin yuly" and "Pobeda" Kolkhozes and the Kolkhoz imeni Il'ich in Turtkul'skiy Rayon, for example, 65 people did not participate in the harvesting of the cotton on one day alone without any valid reasons. In the ninth brigade of department No 4 of the "Komsomol" Sovkhoz in Dustlikskiy Rayon, 14 workers worked on their personal plots for three days at a time when their comrades were working in the cotton fields. Disciplinary proceedings were instituted against the violators of labor discipline. Similar violations have been detected on several farms in Tashkent, Samarkand and Namangan Oblast.

The republic has begun to harvest the sixth and last million tons of cotton. This will undoubtedly be the most difficult million. It is necessary to eliminate all types of losses and mismanagement and to prevent the loss and misappropriation of the cotton. We must follow the party's call: Gather, preserve and process everything that is grown!

REGIONAL

UZBEK MANAGERS COMMENT ON CONSTRUCTION SHORTFALL

Trade Union Committee Director

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by P. Kayumov, chairman of the UzSSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education: "Quiet at the PTU [vocational-technical school] Construction Sites: 22,000 Young Men and Women Have Failed to Enter Classrooms at Vocational-Technical Schools Because of Construction Workers' Sluggishness"]

[Excerpts] The carrying out of the further upsurge in our economy is closely linked with the training of highly qualified workers. It is precisely for that reason that the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out the need to improve at the work at the PTU [vocational-technical schools].

Since the beginning of the past five-year plan almost 900,000 young people in our republic have graduated from vocational-technical schools and have supplemented the ranks of the working class. During that time 50 comprehensive vocational-technical schools have been constructed. Those schools can accommodate 24,260 students and are provided with practical-laboratory and public-services buildings, dormitories, and apartment houses for the engineering and instructor personnel. In addition, the existing schools have been expanded to accommodate an additional 13,750 students. Today practically every rayon in the republic has no less than two schools. Young men and women are receiving instruction in 300 specialties. Our republic is training a considerably larger number of workers for industry and construction, for agriculture, the public-services sphere, and transportation.

At the same time the training of personnel is being held back by the slow construction of new schools. In the 11th Five-Year Plan it was planned to build 77 new comprehensive schools to accommodate 51,200 students and to expand the existing vocational-technical schools by building 23 training buildings to accommodate 10,200 students. However, the capital investments that are being allocated are not being used. During the first two years of the 11th Five-Year Plan the republic was allocated for the construction of new vocational-technical schools and for the expansion of existing ones 62.5 million rubles of capital investments, including 47.2 million rubles for construction-and-installation operations. The amount of allocations actually used came to 47.3 million rubles of capital investments, including

the fulfillment of construction-and-installation operations in the amount of 32.6 million rubles. Instead of 14 schools, 11 were activated.

The lag was caused by the fact that the construction-and-installation organizations do not take the properly solicitous attitude toward construction projects in the area of vocational and technical education. The ministries and departments fulfill the plans for the construction of vocational and technical schools by 60-65 percent, and the normative deadlines for construction are not being maintained. Frequently, it takes 5-7 years to build vocational-technical schools, instead of two years. For example, subdivisions of Minsel'sstroy have been taking 4-5 years to build SSPTU [expansion unknown; type of vocational-technical school] in Chinazskiy, Gurlenskiy, and Farishskiy Rayons. In the construction of the SPTU [expansion unknown; type of vocational-technical school] on the Sovkhoz imeni XXVI Parts"yezda Tashkenstkoy Oblasti the only operations carried out during a three-year period were the soaking of the ground in the foundation pits for the buildings, and since 1978 only 235,000 of the allocated 1,758,000 rubles have been used. During the first nine months of the current year, only 3000 rubles have been used, instead of the planned 50,000.

Glavtashkentstroy is using its own capital investments to build School No. 216, and has been doing that since 1977, but at the present time the construction is far from completed. During the past five-year plan the main administration failed to assure the activation of accommodations for 1,600 students that were planned by governmental decrees. In the 11th Five-Year Plan Glavtashkenstroy is supposed to build two new schools, with one of them being activated in the current year and the second one in 1985; also, in the existing educational institutions it is supposed to complete the construction of two production-training buildings and three dormitories. The program is an extensive one, but the only construction that has been begun so far is the construction of one production-training building.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan Minstroy failed to activate vocational-technical schools with accommodations for 1,200 students in Dzhizak and Tashkent, and during the current five-year plan failed to begin the construction of two schools for 1,440 students.

Glavsredazirsovkhозstroy during the current five-year plan is supposed to build five vocational-technical schools for 3,240 students. At the present time that main administration is activating only one school in Talimardzhan, which it was supposed to have completed two years ago, and has begun building a school for 480 students in Takhtakupyr. The planned construction of other vocational-technical schools in Karakalpak ASSR, Zarbdar, and Murabek has not been begun at all. The vocational-technical schools in Syr-Darya, Dzhizak, and Samarkand Oblasts are being built extremely slowly. The capital investments in those oblasts are being used only to the extent of 18-23 percent.

Many ministries and departments at the union-republic level, giving as their reason the lack of funds, have not begun at all to build any vocational-technical schools. They include Minmontazhspetsstroy, Minkhlopkoprom, Minmestprom, Minstroymaterialov, Minpishcheprom, Minsvyazi, Minzhilkomkhoz, and

others. The same reason has been given for the failure to begin the construction of vocational-technical schools by union-level enterprises -- the Soyuzubekgazprom and Soyuzmashkhlopkovovodstva VPO [All-Union Production Associations]; the Sredazkabel, Uzbekkhlopkomash production associations; the Tashkent Electronic Technology Plant; the Air Association imeni Chkalov; the Pod'yemnik Plant; and the Dzhizak Plastics Plant.

During the past five-year plan and the present one as a whole, 32 vocational-technical schools have not been activated, and the system that provides vocational-technical education has had a shortfall of 22,450 student accommodations, and those factors could not fail to have an effect upon the fulfillment of the plan for the training of skilled workers.

This is the situation that is developing: the ministries and departments need personnel, but they themselves are delaying the creation of the schools for training them. Obviously, if the plans for assigning workers to those ministries and departments were adjusted in a manner directly proportional to their rate of construction of the schools, their activation would be greatly accelerated.

One of the essential shortcomings is the fact that the contract organizations pose as their first-priority task the activation only of the instructional buildings (the students' accommodations), since they are part of the plan for activation of capacities, but the construction of shops, the public-services buildings, and the dormitories is carried out several years later, since those items are not included in the plan for activation of capacities. But it is obvious that the schools cannot operate normally without shops, cafeterias, or dormitories. In our opinion, it is necessary to re-examine the situation that has developed.

It has become a well-established practice for the construction sites at projects in vocational-technical education to be provided with materials and structurals spasmodically, for people to fail to take effective steps to man the projects with manpower, and for no provisions to be made to offer a work front promptly to organizations engaged in related operations. The poor quality of the operations at many projects has been causing many complaints. Nor can one consider it to be a normal situation when the sites for the construction of vocational-technical schools are frequently allocated on the edge of cities or inhabited points. This results in the extensive length of the utility lines, hampers construction, and prolongs the amount of time required for construction.

In a word, in such an important matter as the building of vocational-technical institutions there has been an accumulation of a large number of problems requiring the most rapid resolution.

Publishing House Director

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Oct 83 p 2 carries a 900-word article by I. Shagulyamov, director of the Uzbek Communist Party

Central Committee Publishing House. Shagulyamov describes his enterprise's present reconstruction and expansion project designed to facilitate the future planned production level of six million hardback books per year. He notes, "Our publishing house took first place during the second quarter of 1983 in competition with all other printing enterprises of party organs." He scores the construction industry, however, for hindering progress of his enterprise toward the realization of its goals. He regrets that "during the summer certain construction organizations, precisely during optimum weather conditions for plastering, painting and glazing, skim off workers for other projects. Now they have to make up for lost time."

CSO: 1830/73

REGIONAL

UZBEK STATE COMMITTEE FOR LABOR ON PROBLEMS IN NORM SETTING

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by A. Tikhonov, chief of the organization, norm setting and labor productivity department of the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Labor, and T. Tsiglintseva, leading economist in the organization, norm setting and labor productivity section of the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Labor: "I for Society, Society for Me"]

[Text] The further growth of labor productivity depends in no small degree on how labor and its norm setting are organized in the national economy, the branches, enterprises, and each work position.

However, the setting of labor norms has a considerable effect on solving multi-faceted social and economic tasks only if progressive norms, which take the optimum organizational, technical, economic psychophysiological, and social factors into account, are in effect in the enterprises.

In a socialist society that is interested not only in increasing output but also in preserving the health of the individual during the labor process, norms cannot be based only on machine productivity data. The effectiveness of labor depends on the capabilities not only of the equipment but also of the individual himself and on the conditions under which he is working.

What is the state of affairs today in the setting of work norms within Uzbekistan's industry? Since the beginning of the five-year plan, the percentage of workers, for whose work norms have been set, has grown from 80 to 82 percent, including that of workers -- from 85.3 to 87.2 percent; of these, that of workers paid by the hour -- from 64.6 to 69 percent. The range of workers, who have been embraced by technically sound norms, has been increased.

The setting of labor norms is being improved in a planned and purposeful way in the enterprises of the Ministry of the Coal Industry, Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, which are located on the republic's territory, and in many enterprises: The "Tashkentkhleb" Production Association, the Samarkand Grain Combine, the Namangan Dairy Plant, the Fergana Meat Combine, and others.

However, the question of labor rate setting is as acute as before in industry. It is sufficient to mention that the Uzbek SSR is in the next to last place among the union republics according to its basic indicators.

The percentage of piece-workers, who are fulfilling output norms by 120-150 percent and more, has reached 42.5 percent in the republic's industry. In the enterprises of the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, it is equal to 58.5 percent, in those of the Ministry of the Furniture and Wood Processing Industry -- 59.1 percent, in those of the Ministry of the Gas Industry -- 74.5 percent, in those of the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry -- 74.7 percent, and in those of the Ministry of Power and Electrification -- 76.1 percent.

When you hear that a large percentage of piece-workers are continuously over-fulfilling the norm, this means that the norm is elastic and that the glory is hollow.

A significant overfulfillment of labor norms is caused most frequently by the absence of control over its quality, the absence of a systematic check of the norm's correspondence to the organizational and technical conditions of production, and by the deliberate lowering of the strenuousness of branch and interbranch norms because of poor labor organization -- imperfections in technological processes, the absence of spare parts, etc. Breakages, frequent equipment stoppages, and the untimely feeding of raw material and semi-finished products to the work position make people nervous and result in the non-fulfillment of technically sound norms and, consequently, a decrease in earnings. Under such conditions, production organizers frequently cover the mistakes in their work to organize a smooth work rhythm with the use of non-strenuous norms, i.e., over-stated rates. Thus, several "record holders", who fulfill one and a half-two norms without any special difficulty, are born.

There is no need to explain that this way of solving problems not only inflicts harm on the national economy but also is fraught with moral costs.

The low quality of output norms is also linked with poor performance of the work to replace and review them in a timely fashion. Although the percentage of norms, which were re-examined in the republic's industry, reached 18.6 percent last year (for the country, it was 14 percent), almost half of them were in the Tashkent Aviation Production Association imeni V. P. Chkalov. Moreover, the effectiveness of the norm's review is insignificant: Annually, 1.2-1.3 percent of the piece-workers are freed in the republic's industry based on its results. This is almost twofold lower than the average union indicator.

In practice, they approach the development and introduction of calendar plans for reviewing norms without the required attention in many cases. Thus, the installation of new highly productive lines for veneering edges in the Tashkentskoye and Sergelinskoye furniture production associations was accompanied by the introduction of such non-strenuous norms that their fulfillment reached more than 200 percent.

The review of norms, which is dictated by the introduction of new equipment, advanced technologies or the scientific organization of labor, is often over due when compared with the periods for carrying out the appropriate measures; and this leads to the fact that the worker begins to work less intensively -- at the same time his productivity grows and his earnings increase correspondingly. The worker has time to get accustomed to the easier work conditions and to the higher earnings, although there is no personal merit of his in this. When the belated review of norms and rates, which now will lead to a certain lowering of his earnings, takes place, the worker cannot always understand what has happened. It is only possible to avoid all of this by simultaneously introducing the new equipment, technology or some other measure and the new labor norms.

Large rights for material incentives have been granted to enterprises and associations in order to considerably improve the setting of labor norms, but they are not using them in the majority of cases. Workers and engineer technical workers in production sectors and shops are still being poorly encouraged for decreasing the labor-intensiveness of work and for reviewing and mastering progressive output norms. This hinders the introduction of technically sound labor expenditure norms and holds back the growth of labor productivity. The right to use rates, which have been increased up to 20 percent, in order to increase the interest of workers in transferring to work, which is rated according to branch and other progressive norms, is being used unsatisfactorily in enterprises.

Here is another important question. Why do the workers themselves participate poorly in improving norm setting? It is customary to think that the worker will hold out with all his strength for an easy norm. However, let us settle the question: Why does it go without saying? Why is it not advantageous for him to re-examine a norm? Because there are fewer concerns with a low output norm. Not everyone will decide to announce aloud and officially existing reserves. And not only because an individual does not wish to pass for an "upstart", but also because not everyone knows about the material incentives for decreasing labor-intensiveness especially at the initiative of the workers. Explanatory and indoctrinal work has been poorly organized.

However, there is another reason because of which this reserve seems necessary to a worker. It is required in order to compensate for time losses connected with the poor organization of labor: There are no blanks, there is no instrument None of the production organizers gives guarantees that the worker will be supplied with work throughout his shift and loaded according to NOT requirements. After all, it is better to have something in reserve than to have the reputation of a laggard. Compromises of this type decrease personal responsibility both for the measure and for the organization of labor.

Not considering the Tashkent aviation association, only two percent of all the norms, which were reviewed, were replaced on the average for the republic at the initiative of workers; and for the majority of the ministries and departments it was even lower.

Distrust toward norms still exists. It is customary to think that a rate-setter must engage in the development and review of norms. Frequently, the foreman wants to appear "kind" in the eyes of the workers and does not help the rate-setter. However, you see, no one knows the norm better than the worker. That is why it is necessary to help him so that his distrust of the norm will disappear. In order to do this, it is necessary to decrease forced idle time and to organize labor better. Then, the worker will know that the norm is primarily on his conscience.

A norm is a measure of the worker's conscientiousness and a measure of his personal contribution to a process which calls for his participation in the management of production. The rights and duties of a worker as a citizen are in a norm.

A norm is a fine and critical border. That very border on which an exchange takes place: I for society, society for me. Therefore, a norm is, besides everything else, an indicator also.

Accounting in economics begins with the norm and depends on it. Our incomes and expenditures are weighed on it as on a scale. This is its main merit -- to be sound. Then, the profits of an enterprise, the honor of a worker and the glory of a shock-worker are sound.

It says in our constitution: "To each according to his work". Work is measured by a norm.

Statistics show that in many enterprises the tariff in the workers' piece-work earning structure is only a little more than half. The remaining -- extremely significant -- part (40-47 percent) is unsoundly calculated in many cases for the high overfulfillment of obsolete operating norms which serve only as a means to increase earnings and which contribute to their faster growth compared to the growth in labor productivity.

During last year alone, an advance, which led to an over expenditure of the wage fund by many millions of rubles, was permitted in 25 out of 40 ministries.

It is necessary to say right out that the situation, which has been created, is the result of poor organization of the management of work norm-setting in the enterprises on the part of the ministries and departments. Questions concerning the improvement of rate setting seldom become a subject for discussion during sessions of the collegiums.

This attitude must be fundamentally changed.

The responsibility of economic directors and labor collectives for the condition of labor rate-setting has now been significantly increased. The mutual duties of the administration and the workers and employees in decreasing the labor-intensiveness of the produced products, in improving rate-setting and in increasing labor productivity must be included in collective contracts.

Socialist competition has been called upon to exert a large influence on the condition of rate-setting. When summing up its results, it is necessary to consider the fulfillment of tasks in decreasing the labor-intensiveness of the products and the measures to improve labor rate-setting. Rate-setting must become one of the indicators according to which the victors in socialist competition are determined.

The system of moral and material incentives must always and everywhere insure a just and objective evaluation of each one's work contribution. It is necessary to encourage conscientious workers in every way possible.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said during his meeting with Moscow's machine-tool builders: "That, which we are producing, often costs us too dearly. There are considerable over-expenditures of material and financial resources; labor expenditures are excessive. As a result, a disproportion between the growth of production and the growth of the population's financial incomes is formed."

Correct rate-setting is one of the effective ways to eliminate this disproportion. Ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises must more actively conduct organizational work to incorporate all the best that is being used in a branch, strengthen the vanguard role of the communists in raising the level of work rate-setting, and pay a great deal of attention to the strengthening of work discipline and the increasing of the responsibility of specialists for the fulfillment of state plans.

8802
CSO: 1830/129

REGIONAL

BAGIROV AT NAGORNO-KARABAKHSKAYA AO JUBILEE MEETING

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 5 Nov 83 pp 1-2

/Speech of K M Bagirov at the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic/

/Excerpts/ Dear Comrades!

Today is a joyous holiday in the life of Nagornyy Karabakh. We are festively celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. This is a great, bright holiday for all workers of our republic, for all of Soviet Azerbaijan, for all the people of our country!

Permit me, on behalf of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, to warmly and sincerely congratulate you, and in your person, the workers, kolkhozniks, intellectuals--all those who labor in the oblast--on this glorious anniversary. During the years of Soviet power, Nagornyy Karabakh has traveled a great path, marked by remarkable successes. Over a historically short period, never flagging, and not having had its industry prior to the Revolution, this mountainous region has been transformed into an economically developed region with a high level of culture and education among the workers.

In the greetings published by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republic Council of Ministers, a high evaluation was given to the achievements of Nagornyy Karabakh.

The formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and its successes over the last 60 years are the embodiment of Lenin's immortal ideas of equality, friendship and brotherhood of peoples--a genuine triumph of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU.

The Soviet people are well aware that their labor and the achievements of the economy form the reliable, steadfast foundation for defensive strength, for the international authority of our socialist state and

its consistent, peace-loving foreign policy course. The Communist Party and the Soviet government lead the titanic struggle for peace and international security. At this crucial moment in history, complicated by the irrational actions of American imperialism, the Soviet people with one voice approve the foreign policy initiatives and proposals of our party to restrain the arms race and avert a thermonuclear catastrophe.

The workers of Azerbaijan, together with all Soviet people, welcome the statement of Yu V Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet presidium chairman and his answers to PRAVDA's questions. The anti-humanitarian militaristic course of the American administration in these historic documents is contrary to the firm, undeviating course of the Communist Party and the Soviet government for the preservation and strengthening of peace, for the lessening of tension and the broadening and deepening of cooperation among states.

Comrades! Azerbaijan is a republic with rich international traditions, born and tempered in the fire of revolutionary struggle, augmented and developed in the course of the construction of socialism. The unity of interests and goals, of will and action, the spiritual kinship, the faith and mutual concern, the relationship of fraternity and friendship, penetrate the entire labor and socio-political life of multinational Soviet Azerbaijan. This atmosphere of Soviet internationalism, the circumstance of friendship, is entirely characteristic of Nagornyy Karabakh--a region where Azerbaijan's Armenians and representatives of other nationalists have lived in brotherhood for centuries. These traditions--many centuries old--were enriched by a new historical content in class battles, in close unity with proletarian Russia, in combined revolutionary struggle against tsarism and the bourgeoisie. The inseparability of our general fate is as firm as our brotherhood.

The unwavering foundation of this brotherhood was the great Russian people, the Russian working class in whom all nationalists and peoples of the country, including the laborers of multinational Azerbaijan, discovered a generous and disinterested friend--a true co-worker in the struggle for liberation from social and national oppression, for their bright future.

One of the bright monuments on this path was the date 7 July 1923. On this day the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast was founded, based on the Leninist principles of autonomy and federation.

The formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast as a part of the Azerbaijan SSR embodied the Leninist principles of national-state structure and was itself the first example of a new type of national relationship, based on the principles of proletarian socialist internationalism. All this created favorable conditions for the free and unhindered development of the economics and culture of the region.

Comrades! The achievements of the workers of Nagornyy Karabakh during the years of Soviet power have been thoroughly shown in the report of Comrade Boris Sarkisovich Kevorkov, first secretary of the oblast party committee. Impressive successes have been attained, and they again convincingly confirm that the main field of endeavor for the Communist Party on the paths of constructing the new life is economics--the undeviating growth of production forces--and on this foundation, the utmost increase in the people's welfare, a happy life for the laboring people.

An indispensable part of the republic economy, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has made an enormous leap in its development. Suffice it to say that over the course of 60 years, the volume of industrial production in Nagornyy Karabakh has increased by more than 900 times, and now in a single day in the oblast twice the production occurs as for the entire year of 1923.

The economics and culture of Nagornyy Karabakh are growing particularly dynamically and on a large scale at the stage of developed socialism. The achievements of the oblast today are the direct results of the great efforts of the workers and the activity of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, directed toward accelerated development of the progressive fields and the agro-industrial complex. During the years of the 9th, 10th and 11th Five-Year Plans alone, more than 335 million rubles of capital investment were spent on economic and social development in the oblast. This, comrades, is almost twice the amount spent during the preceding 50 years.

Great changes have taken place in oblast industry. It has been enriched by new enterprises and modern manufacturing. The assortment of manufactured products has broadened. Its contribution to the industry of the republic and to the entire country has increased constantly.

As a result of strengthening the material-technological base of agriculture (and of other measures), its gross production for the years of the 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans in comparison with the 7th and 8th increased by more than 2.5 times; the production output per 100 hectares of arable land showed a two-fold increase. The oblast share of the production of grapes, meat and milk and other agricultural products grew also.

Comrades! It is pleasant to note that in the third year of the 11th Five-Year Plan the workers of Nagornyy Karabakh have made a worthy contribution to solving the economic and social problems facing the republic. Your successes, comrades, are unquestionable, and they make us all glad. But the party teaches us not to be satisfied with that achieved. It is necessary to concentrate attention on the exposure and rapid elimination of existing shortcomings, on the more

complete use of all reserves and capabilities. And we have many of them. One should not, for example, make peace with the fact that a number of industrial enterprises in the oblast have broken the plan discipline, dispensed with the agreed upon requirements for deliveries, have not completed the state plans; the productivity of labor is growing slowly--in the current year certain industrial enterprises have not fulfilled the plans, and the production output per worker has declined. The loss of worker time has been great.

In the oblast insufficient use is made of local raw materials and production by-products for increasing the output of consumer goods, although you have great possibilities in this regard. Greater attention should be paid to folk crafts, to the production of souvenirs, to cottage industries. We will have to solve many problems in capital construction. The economies of the oblast have significant reserves and resources at their disposal for increasing production and procuring agricultural produce. In a word, we must realize more energetically, more completely, the great economic resources available, the reserves for improving the quality of products, for increasing production effectiveness. One of the most important problems of the oblast party organization is the more effective use of the economic, scientific and technological potential--and the more rational use of labor resources, drawing them into social productivity.

The main thing is to direct the efforts of communists, of all toilers, toward setting into motion more quickly the richest resources and reserves of the economy, to ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the 26th Party Congress plan, the decrees of the May and November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the Azerbaijan Communist Party 30th Congress. You have everything you need for this goal: trained personnel, fine experience in party organizational, ideological and economic work, and rich resources.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee expresses firmly the confidence that the oblast party organization communists and all who work in the oblast will know how to solve successfully all these problems and will ensure a further advance in all directions of economic and cultural construction in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

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REGIONAL

LETTERS TO EDITOR OUTLINE OBSTACLES TO IMPROVED LABOR DISCIPLINE

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by V. Petrovskiy, PRAVDA VOSTOKA correspondent: "Sweepings From the Hut"]

[Text] "Last year, a new shop superintendent, V. Naplyvin; I. Azizov, a lathe operator; and several other workers were accepted into our instrument shop No 24 in the experimental instrument manufacturing plant of the 'Signal' Scientific Production Association from the 'Tekhnolog' Scientific Production Association. During December, increased duty details -- of 500-600 rubles -- were closed to many of the new people. At our request, the association's people's control group checked and confirmed this fact. On 20 January, the general director of the enterprise, I. Sokolov, issued an order in which Naplyvin and the chief of the instrument bureau, Tezhikov, were reprimanded; the size of the bonuses for December were decreased by 25 percent for them because of the violation of financial discipline. They have persecuted us for the criticism since then. We have turned to different departments, but the persecution continues".

(From a collective letter to the editors of PRAVDA VOSTOKA from a group of workers in shop No 24 in the "Signal" Scientific and Production Association .)

On the day of the order's publication, a general shop trade union meeting took place with the agenda "The Moral Aspects of Increasing Labor Discipline". A serious discussion about worker's honor and conscience occurred during it; the general director, I. Sokolov, praised the collective for the questions which had been raised in a timely fashion. Naplyvin reacted to the criticism addressed to him in a simple manner. Soon after the meeting he quietly and in a friendly way ordered lathe operators-borers, Sergey Stepanenko and Viktor Balagurov, who had signed letters to the newspaper and other departments, to quit. They refused. Then, on 28 February, he and senior foreman A. Legoshin stated in an act: The forced idle time of four workers in the traverse gear-boring section during the last winter month was ... 230 hours. As was stated in it, the idle time had to be paid for in accordance with the Code of Labor Laws of the Uzbek SSR. This, however, has still not been done. Why? L. Baklanova, the former chairman of the trade union committee, to whom the workers turned, replied as follows:

"In the middle of March, Naplyvin wrote a memorandum in which he stated that there had been no idle time. We transferred the matter to the commission for labor disputes."

N. Mel'nikova, a member of the commission and chief of the labor and wages section, in commenting on what had taken place, explains:

"Naplyvin is defending his point of view. Which one? Of course, that which is contained in the memorandum and not the one in the act. But the commission can in no way make up its mind. All matters"

For almost eight months they have not even tried to settle the labor conflict..

Meanwhile, the director of the shop is persistently following his policy, thinking that all means are good for achieving the goal -- which is not without a selfish motive -- that he has assigned himself.

Dzhalal Shakhabutdinov, the secretary of the shop party organization, previously worked on three machine tools -- a boring machine and two semi-automatic ones. If there was no work on one of them, the experienced production worker shifted to the others. The superintendent left one machine for him. Oh, and the hours of compulsory idle time dragged on for a long time near it! When Shakhabutdinov was released from the hospital after a serious illness and given a medical certificate that he must be transferred to lighter work for a half year, this was not done.

The management of the association did not know (or did not want to know) about the negative aspects of their subordinate's activity. I. Sokolov, the general director of the scientific and production association; S. Milokhov, secretary of the party committee; and L. Baklanova, chairman of the trade union committee, sent an official letter to the procurator of Tashkent:

"In connection with the production situation that had taken shape during December 1982 in the instrument shop of the experimental instrument manufacturing plant, there was a violation of the procedure for forming duty details with increased rates. V. N. Naplyvin, the shop superintendent, has been reprimanded by an order of the association and he has been deprived of his bonus. We request that we confine ourselves to these adopted measures."

They had attached a reference on Vyacheslav Nikolayevich to the request. What flattering words were in it! Those, who had signed these documents did not know about the true face of Naplyvin.

Viktor Balagurov's main occupation is a lathe operator-borer, his secondary one -- a thread cutter. He has worked for a long time according to the fourth category of the tariff scale with a 30-ruble monthly additional payment to his base pay. He managed this and that work. Naplyvin removed him from the thread cutter and accepted another individual for this specialty at a full rate. As a result, the association only lost in a financial respect. And a worker with 33 years of work service was treated badly. It

was even more offensive to a shock worker of the five-year plan, who had quite a few commendations, when they undeservedly took away his personal stamp and deprived him of his bonus for May without any justification for it.

However, not everyone became a big wig, some people also received cakes. Later, on the recommendation of the Tashkent city procurator's office, a competent commission from the all-union "Soyuznauchpribor" association for the production of scientific instruments conducted a thorough inspection of the correctness in forming work details in the shop. Here is the conclusion to which the specialists, who inspected the work details for the payment of work done by I. Azizof, Ye. Kravtsov, B. Panfilov, S. Proydakov, and V. Ortynskiy, came:

"The instrument shop superintendent treats his duties irresponsibly and does not execute the necessary control over the work of the senior foreman and rate-setter. Work details are formed carelessly, the description of work does not correspond to the drawings and trades, and the stamps of the technical control section are absent on many of them. It is impossible to set rates for them because they could not be accepted for payment. The overstating of work qualifications, norms and rates occurred. The total, subject to reimbursement, was 1,866.85 rubles."

None of the above mentioned workers "earned" less than 500 rubles. Grinder Vladimir Ortynskiy, who received 659.98 rubles in cash during December, was the record holder. In order to earn this money honestly, it would have been necessary to work for 24 hours a day without dinner and without smoke breaks. You will not say this about Vladimir. In addition, he had an extremely strong attachment for alcohol.

Such cases, of course, aroused the indignation of many. They wrote to the procurator and to the editors of the TRUD newspaper at whose request the Tashkent obkom of the machine building and instrument making workers trade union busied itself with the conflict. A general shop meeting was held on 18 March. In condemning the authors of the letters, S. Proydakov, a metal worker and instrument-maker, stated during it:

"What's with these people? They found out that I had a large pay check -- and to the procurator. It was necessary to write an explanation. I cannot find the words to express my indignation."

A. Denisov, the chief product engineer of the association expressed his opinion as follows -- despite the clear facts:

"The norms for the work details have been set correctly, but some of them are at rates that are somewhat overstated."

Softly stated, is it not? A desire to hush up the matter of the surplus payments is present.

S. Milokhov, the then party committee secretary of "Signal", expressed himself unequivocably:

"The conduct of Dzhalal Shakhabutdinov, the secretary of the shop party organization, who is an active participant in all these statements and complaints, fills me with indignation."

In general, everything has been done to show that the "writers" are trouble-makers and self-seekers. But after the next persecutions, they again went to the departments.

On 11 April, it is reported in a representation of the Tashkent procurator to S. Smirnov, the general director of "Soyuznauchpribor":

"The administration of the 'Signal' scientific and Production Association, instead of taking effective steps to ban violations of the law, actually rose to defend Naplyvin and pandered to the persecution of the plaintiffs."

Well, what of it? On 27 April, order No 203-K was issued in "Signal" about the transfer of the two authors of the complaint from lathe operators-borers in the sixth category to milling machine operators of the second category without their agreement. The purpose? To hit them in the pocketbook.

After the interference of the procurator, Sokolov was forced to reprimand Naplyvin again in order No 219 a reprimand with which for some reason only the superintendent was familiar in the shop. However, with what reservations was this document compiled! Here is an extract from it:

"... The workers of shop No 24 have raised the question that comrade Naplyvin is allegedly arranging their persecution for the submission of previous complaints... Comrade V. N. Naplyvin, the instrument shop supervisor, for actions in which violations of the law have been established by the procurator of the city of Tashkent...." Etc.,.

Established by the procurator. Is this not really the duty of the administration and party and trade union organizations of "Signal"? They should have correctly placed the stress. Unfortunately, they did not hold a true course. Such was the attitude toward Naplyvin who continued to have his own way. Therefore, at the beginning of October, the procurator instigated criminal proceedings against him in accordance with articles 149 and 151¹ of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code. Punishments for the "abuse of authority or work position" and for the "persecution by officials of citizens in connection with their submission of complaints or statements" are provided for in them.

"By Order No 128 of 'Soyuznauchpribor' I. Filinov, chief engineer of 'Signal'; S. Voloshin, his deputy; and N. Nel'nikova and R. Sultanov, the chiefs of the work and payments department and technical control department, are reprimanded for their failure to insure the appropriate direction over instrument production, poor work organization, failure to monitor instrument and rigging quality, and the condition of labor rate-setting. I. Sokolov, the general director, is sternly warned; He has been entrusted with strengthening control over the activity of the scientific and production association."

I will not undertake to maintain that the assignment is being accurately carried out; the facts testify that it is far from being 100 percent.

Not so long ago, a shop committee commission inspected seven work details on the receipt of wages during September. As was supposed, falsifications totaling 405 rubles were detected in them. For some reason Naplyvin signed as the technical control department controller, foreman and norm-setter on the work detail of worker Lyapkin where as a result of corrections and substitutions the numbers in the total were increased by 126 rubles. Why was this necessary for him? Likewise, why was it necessary to put down in the table for G. Vysylaykin, a metal worker and instrument maker, as work days the period from 1 - 7 September as work days. No one had seen him in the shop or at its entrance throughout that week. There were also no covering vouchers.

Here is a place to recall the words of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, which were spoken during the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "Each of our citizens has the right only to those material goods which contribute to the amount and quality of his socially useful work. Only to this. The strict accounting and the strict observation of this principle are important here."

It would have been possible to put a period here if the next alarming signal had not arrived from "Signal". Now from Alla Vasil'yevna Chernysheva, the chief engineer of the duplicating equipment section in the production forms and records sector. While she was on leave and then lay in a hospital for 20 days, operator L. Knyazeva grossly violated instructions and printed on the duplicating machine a large number of documents on the side -- for other organizations -- without the knowledge of the authorities. She should have been immediately dismissed from work for such a crime, but Knyazeva remained in her job. Chernysheva reported what had happened to Yu. Inozemtsev, the section manager; A. Sadovnik, the chief of the patent department; the party and trade union organizations, and the chief engineer of the association. None of them took the necessary steps. Chernysheva herself... suffered. "For insufficient direction of a subordinate" she was severely reprimanded, deprived of her bonus and transferred to a section located in another territory.

They do not like it at "Signal" when their dirty linen is washed in public.

8802
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REGIONAL

VILNIUS APPEALS TO AMERICAN-LITHUANIAN 'MINORITY'

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Oct 83 (signed to press 21 Oct 83) pp 83-86

[Article by R. Kibartas: "On the Lithuanian National Minority In the United States"]

[Text] The uncompromising struggle in the international arena in the ideological area has acquired very sharp forms, and imperialism and its centers for ideological subversive activity are enlisting the most reactionary forces and adventuristic elements, including different emigrant groupings and organizations, in this struggle.

With the availability of highly developed and highly technically equipped mass information media the ideological struggle is having a direct and immediate effect on the public opinion of not only individual population groups but also of entire peoples. Under these conditions, the work of unmasking the intrigues of imperialism and of reactionary Lithuanian emigrant organizations as its servants is acquiring an important ideological and political significance. However, one should not forget that a layer of people, who follow attentively and sometimes even sympathetically the development of events in the land of their fathers and grandfathers, exists and is continuously growing among the Lithuanian minorities in the capitalist countries. That is why it is also important to continuously improve the work of publicizing among our tribesmen the Soviet state's peaceloving policy, the achievements of its people and the successes in our republic's socialist organizational development. In doing this, one cannot forget that reactionary Lithuanian emigrants in the United States, who -- in following the policy of that country's imperialist circles -- lay claim to "global" leadership of the Lithuanians in the capitalist countries, are continuously striving to exert influence on them.

According to American statistical data, approximately 800,000 persons of Lithuanian origin lived in the United States in 1979. Among them, there were approximately 320,000 who had been born in families in which both parents were Lithuanian by nationality. Of this number, only about 60,000 were emigrants in the full meaning of this word because they were born in Lithuania. Thus, it seems that the Lithuanian national minority in the United States forms less than 0.5 percent of all the inhabitants of that country. In

comparison with other national minorities, for example, the French, Italian, Jewish, Polish, and Ukrainian, which number millions or even tens of millions of people, the Lithuanian is unquestionably not numerous. Moreover, it is now practically not being replenished with new immigrants, and the general laws of consolidation in the American nation is having a strong effect on it.

This of course does not mean, however, that the Lithuanian minority is in general not making any contribution to the social and political life of the United States. Despite its small number, such well known figures in the American progressive and workers movement as A. Bimba, V. Andryulis, K. Karosene, R. Mizara, Ye. Mizarene, S. Iokubka, P. Venta, and many others have grown up in its ranks. Among Americans of Lithuanian extraction there are quite a few capable and recognized scientists, engineers, teachers in higher educational institutions, doctors, and artists: A. Avizhenis, A. Kliore, B. Launas, V. Adamkus, V. Ioninas, M. Gimbutene, K. Devenis, V. Bankaytis, P. Zunde, and others. At the same time, none of this minority has been essentially able to occupy a leading position in the state apparatus of the United States and in the political and public life of that country for a number of reasons. As the Lithuanians themselves have been forced to state with great regret, even in the city of Chicago, in which one of the largest colonies of persons of Lithuanian extraction is concentrated, "There is not even one of them among the members of the city council and the courts".

The Lithuanian national minority in the United States cannot be regarded as a single, whole and stable minority not only from the point of view of class structure and social composition but also in a political respect. It is also impossible to identify it in any way with the concept "emigration" toward which the figures of the reactionary organizations have been strenuously striving throughout all the postwar years. Essentially, it is a new American-Lithuanian formation which has taken shape under the conditions of American capitalism and which has adopted many features of its social and political life and of the way of thinking of the American people. One can say confidently that approximately 80 percent of the representatives of the Lithuanian minority in the United States have already shifted to the English language completely or partially and that they do not know the Lithuanian language at all or know it very poorly. This is an objective and inevitable process not dependent on any organizations.

Thousands of progressively attuned people and their followers are in the Lithuanian national minority. Despite persecution by reactionary circles, they have been able to preserve their organizations, maintain close ties with the Lithuanian SSR, are happy with its successes, and publicize them among the local population. They have made a considerable contribution to the cultural inheritance of the American-Lithuanian formation. They deserve our greatest respect and understanding for all of this.

Members of different emigrant reactionary organizations also belong to the Lithuanian minority; however, they represent no more than 10 percent of all the Lithuanians who live in the United States. Let us illustrate this with several items taken from the emigrant press. Thus, of the 320,000 Americans

of Lithuanian extraction, approximately 2.2 percent participate in the activity of reactionary organizations. Moreover, an analysis shows that many different reactionary and clerical organizations and press organs have departed from the arena of emigrant life during the last 30 years, and the circulation of many of the remaining newspapers and magazines has been considerably curtailed.

The policy of frantic and pathologic anti-Sovietism, anticomunism and nationalism, which pushes the real world into the background, does not provide an opportunity for these organizations to evaluate reality objectively and recognize the changes which have occurred in the land of their ancestors. It is this policy which is one of the main reasons for the polarization and demoralization of the emigrant organizations and their ranks. By continuing to live as representatives of the old times and being at the mercy of the ideas of the exploiting classes, they were not even capable of new anti-Soviet fictions. Everything which they are promoting today, has already existed in the past. They are no longer able to boast that they "represent the authority" of not only the Lithuanian people but even of the Lithuanian national minority in the United States.

Today, not hundreds, but thousands of sober-minded members of the different Lithuanian organizations understand and openly talk about the conformity to law of the decline in the social, political and cultural life of Lithuanians in the United States. Last year, one of the bourgeois nationalistic newspapers wrote in this connection: "After 40 years of emigrant life, we are beginning to sense more clearly that we are approaching the construction of a Tower of Babylon. A great deal has been said, written and discussed about concentrating all emigrant forces, consolidation and unity; however, everything has turned out the opposite".

In the ranks of the reactionary emigrants, there is now not even a semblance of any force capable of filling the vacuum which appeared after the improvishment and collapse in the past of the active anti-Soviet organizations of the more or less organized emigrant groupings.

Ringing phrases and loud appeals can be backed up with specific deeds only now and then and evoke interest. Moreover, it is now easy for someone to fill the vacuum after the departure of the former public figures of bourgeois Lithuania, who at one time headed the different organizations and who had political struggle and intrigue experience, from the arena of emigrant life. This vacuum is now usually being filled by people who are retirees not only according to their age but also according to their way of thinking. Because of the absence of nominations, go-getters, who have not been able to find a place in American social and political life, and failures, who are only capable of directing the emigrant organizations, are frequently becoming the ring-leaders of the reactionary organizations. For example, Doctor K. Bobyalis, who is ready to "direct" anybody, if only to direct and to be on the surface of emigrant life, is related to these. K. Shidlauskas, who abuses alcohol and behaves improperly in public places, is the same. There is a similar situation in many organizations and editorial boards of the emigrant newspapers.

The emigrant press has been forced to admit, today, that the political dilettantism, which was engendered by emigrant life itself, has over-powered the emigrants. In the words of one of the newspapers: "The worst thing is that dilettants have today become especially aggressive representatives of our political activity. That is why we have become in many cases abnormal people in abnormal circumstances".

The temporary activity, which is demonstrated by the remaining reactionary organizations, is normally explained by the degree of interest in them on the part of the American administration, imperialism's different centers of ideological subversive activity, and the organizers of psychological warfare against the world of socialism, who are continually switching the goals and tasks of U. S. foreign policy. This periodically displayed activity is not an expression of capability, strength and organization; but on the contrary, it testifies to the absence of one's own policy, the collapse of the role and vital activity of the organizations and the appearance of adventurism. American anti-Soviets and Sovietologists cannot resent the Lithuanian reactionary organizations because they not only have provided and are providing them with food for different types of "theories" and fabrications but are also contributing to the preservation in their ideological arsenal of the so-called "Baltic question" which occupies a definite place in U. S. policy.

In a word, the anti-Soviet business remains a profitable affair and that is why, as one emigrant newspaper recently wrote, different figures with questionable reputations are rushing to it from all sides, pushing each other with their elbows. At the same time, no one wants to engage in truly necessary work -- for example, preserving the Lithuanian newspaper in Boston and preserving from destruction the pictures of Lithuanian artists in Chicago.

The leaders of the reactionary organizations who are not capable of subordinating the Lithuanian minority to their influence and who are undergoing one crisis after another, have now begun to resort to the most extreme measures, up to and including physical and moral reprisals against people of a different trend of thought. Articles, which deplore the fact that the reactionary organizations have not been able to acquire a punitive apparatus and their own police which would deal with people that criticize their activities, people who think differently than they do, people who visit Soviet Lithuania, etc., have begun to appear more frequently in emigrant newspapers. At the beginning of last year, one permanent correspondent of many of the emigrant newspapers came out with a "new idea" -- acquire in the Lithuanian SSR their own secret service which would continuously inform the emigrant organizations about the conduct of emigrants during their stay in our republic and which would help these organizations to fight against their "internal" enemies. In a word, the ring-leaders of the reactionary organizations can in no way reconcile themselves with the fact that more and more of the Lithuanians, who live in the United States, are finding in themselves the strength to realize their own position, the fact that their real evaluation of the activity has gained the upper hand over the ideas of anti-Sovietism, and that they are tolerating cooperation with Soviet Lithuania, which is opening up to them new prospects and opportunities, including the preservation of their distinctive ethnic features.

From today's position, it is absolutely realistic to assume that the prospects for the preservation of the Lithuanian national minority in the United States will entirely depend on how quickly its representatives grasp the fact that one can no longer follow the policy of the reactionary organizations and that this policy has no future. In order to preserve for themselves even only several components of their national culture, they have no other way than to maintain loyal contacts with the motherland. A loyal relationship does not require and does not at all mean that it is necessary to become a communist. It only assumes a respect for the land of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers and the ability to evaluate the achievements of their people to be proud of their present and future, to understand their problems and to desire peace.

On the other hand, the time has come to understand that questions concerning the future of our people are being solved not beyond the ocean but on the shores of the Baltic and that questions concerning contacts with our republic cannot be dictated by anyone except its representatives. Questions concerning whom Americans of Lithuanian extraction can or cannot meet in the Lithuanian SSR and what republic institutions they can visit or not visit are not being solved by reactionary organizations beyond the ocean. The emigrant policy of a "double standard", which is being displayed literally in all areas of activity and which does not permit the freedom of an individual and different thoughts in the United States but which encourages reactionary attacks beyond the limits of the country where they live, is doomed to failure.

We also categorically reject the fabrications of the reactionaries that Soviet Lithuania considers all representatives of the Lithuanian national minority in the United States to be enemies and that any of them, who is found in Lithuania, can be liable to arrest only because he is the offspring of an emigrant.

This is malicious slander of which only people, who are obsessed with hatred for their people, are capable. We well distinguish reactionary organizations from organizations of a charitable, cultural, ethnic, social, and community nature which contain members of the Lithuanian national minority. We are waging a struggle against frantic anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. At the same time, however, we are prepared for cooperation, including reasonable and honest disputes with those members of this minority who, although they stand on different ideological positions, do not resort to psychological warfare methods and actions against our country.

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8802
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REGIONAL

WESTERN SOVIETOLOGISTS' WORK ON CENTRAL ASIAN DEMOGRAPHY CRITICIZED

Tashkent KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA in Russian No 10, Oct 83 (signed to press 3 Oct 83) pp 86-88

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences K. Inoyatov: "Demographic and Migration Processes in the USSR: Truth Against Fabrication"]

[Text] Readers B. Nurullayev and Ye. Ivanchenko ask for a discussion of demographic and migration processes in our country and why they are being falsified by "Sovietologists" in the West.

In resolving the social-economic tasks of developed socialism in our country, in particular the development of new regions, the construction of major industrial projects, organization of long-term planning, and so on, a vital role is played by demographic and migration factors.

As is well-known, the rate of population reproduction differs in various regions of the USSR. The highest growth, for example, is observed in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. The bourgeois ideologues are vigorously puffing up this circumstance. To provide a "scientific" basis for allegations about the existence of national dissension in our country, the "Sovietologists" are especially juggling data on the natural growth of the population in the Central Asian republics.

According to our ideological adversaries, the high population growth of the native population that has been observed here in recent years will in the foreseeable future inevitably lead to disruption of the present "balance" in interethnic relations and to eventual predominance of "Central Asians" in political, economic, and cultural spheres, which in the long run will bring about antagonism between the peoples of the European and Asian parts of our country. The British journal ECONOMIST concludes that "in the future the greatest threat to the unity of the Soviet state may come not from the old traditional centers of national dissatisfaction in the European part of Russia but from Central Asia. This is due not to repressive policies but rather to high birth rates in the region, the population of which will double by the end of the century, whereas the population growth in the European part of the country will stagnate."

The fact of unequal increases in the population in the union republics of the USSR is not itself a secret but is confirmed by official statistics. According to the All-Union Census, the population of the USSR as a whole increased

by 9 percent from 1970 to 1979; in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Belorussia it rose by 6 percent; in Kazakhstan--13; in Kirgizia--20; Turkmenistan--28; Uzbekistan--30; and Tajikistan--31 percent. This gives no grounds, however, for inferring any far-reaching destructive social-political consequences as the bourgeois authors conclude. Population growth in various countries and regions has never been uniform and is not now. Population growth is not uniform in the capitalist world, whether in the developed and developing countries or in states having approximately the same level of social-economic development. In 1977, for example, the birth rate in the FRG was 9.8 per 1,000, compared to 15.7 in the United States and 16.4 in Japan. No bourgeois demographer accorded these figures any sinister implication.

In the USSR, where a new historic community--the Soviet people--has been formed and is developing successfully, fluctuations in the population of any particular nationality cannot in any way affect its political status. Representatives of every nation and nationality in our country, in accordance with the Constitution, enjoy equal rights to participate in all spheres of life of Soviet society. Regardless of whether a particular nationality in the USSR is large or small, whether it has a high or low birthrate, it is united with the other nationalities of the country by its shared social-class structure, its ideological and moral principles. It is the "sense of a single family" which has become decisive in the life and endeavors of the Ukrainian and the Georgian, the Belorussian and the Moldavian, the Uzbek and the Russian, the Jew and the Chuvash--all nationalities of our country. As for population growth in the union republics, it is a consequence of the vigorous progress of peoples who were oppressed in the past, and it reflects primarily the mighty upsurge of the economic level of our republics, the well-being of their populations.

Also completely groundless are Western falsifiers' attempts to utilize the question of migration in the USSR for their ignoble aims, as is done, for example, by the French "Sovietologist" F. Chausse, who alleges that migration processes "confront Soviet planners with unresolvable problems." This matter has always been resolved in our country on a strictly scientific, planned basis, taking account of the interests of the state as well as the migrants themselves. As is well-known, the vast expanses of the Soviet Union include many uninhabited regions or lands that are to be developed, where colossal natural resources are concentrated. What they need, essentially, is manpower, which has to be recruited in various republics, but on a strictly voluntary basis.

Sixty-six years ago Central Asia, which before the October Revolution was a colony of tsarist Russia, was a vast region requiring the introduction of hundreds of thousands of workers. Following Lenin's course of equalizing the levels of the advanced and the backward regions of the country, Soviet power threw enormous sums into industrialization of the region, development of its natural resources, development of a modern culture. This course reflected the party's nationality policies and was conducted in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory of converting the backward countries to socialism, bypassing capitalism.

The workers of the country's industrial centers went to Central Asia to help the local peoples build a multisector socialist industry. This was the true motive behind migration to Central Asia, which took place in the '20s and '30s. Streams of migration to Central Asia during the first five-year plans and during the Great Patriotic War raised the proportion of the Russian population in the region, but by no means to the degree that the falsifiers say. The French "Sovietologist" R. Lacontre states, for example, that "in our time all the Asian republics of the USSR are made up of at least 20 percent Russians." If the bourgeois publicist had leafed through statistical references before making this "discovery," he could have easily convinced himself that Russians constitute 10.8 percent of the population in Uzbekistan, 10.4 percent in Tajikistan, and 12.6 percent in Turkmenistan.

At present, migration processes in most of the Central Asian republics are different in kind compared with the '20s through the '40s. These republics have long since built up a developed industry and a high socialist culture, and they do not need a broad stream of migrants. Today the Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz peoples are providing substantial aid in the development of the sparsely populated regions of the RSFSR. The French journal (POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS) has no grounds whatsoever for the allegation that "extensive emigration of the population from Central Asia to the RSFSR and the European part of the USSR is impossible and undesirable for a number of economic and political reasons." The same thing must be said of the above-mentioned F. Chausse allegation that "it is impossible to transfer Uzbek manpower to the industrial regions of the European part of the country, where there is a shortage of manpower, or to Siberia; the Moslems want to stay home, on Moslem land."

It must be pointed out that the working people of Central Asia are taking active part in the construction of the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] and the development of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR. CPSU Central Committee Politburo Candidate-Member and Uzbek CP Central Committee First Secretary Comrade Sh. R. Rashidov has emphasized: "When the party announced the long-range program for transformation of the Nonchernozem Zone, Uzbek reclamation workers formed detachments to take part in the new national campaign. Now they are working side by side with the farmers of Ivanovo and Novgorod to drain the lands, to build sovkhozes, livestock complexes, housing, and schools. Uzbekistan's workers are doing so at the dictates of their hearts, for life itself has shown that the Soviet people must accomplish any great undertaking through their own efforts. This is graphic proof of our brotherhood, our unshakeable friendship."

In the development of the various regions of the USSR, in particular the Central Asian economic region, the system of Soviet state planning takes account of demographic factors, including the birthrate and natural population growth. In the "Basic Guidelines of Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period Through 1990," approved by the 26th CPSU Congress, the task of "implementing an effective demographic policy" is set forth. As was noted at the 20th Uzbek CP Congress, for example, by 1990 Uzbekistan's population will increase to 22-23 million compared to 16.2 million in 1981, and for this reason it will be necessary carefully to study

this serious demographic problem, to undertake vigorous efforts to create new jobs, to provide full employment in social production for the able-bodied population.

While manipulating data concerning migration in the Soviet Union, bourgeois writers generally either consciously avoid touching on the matter of population movements in the capitalist countries or else completely ignore their social-class character.

Until recently, two streams of migrants could be discerned in the capitalist countries. This can be seen easily in the case of France and its former possessions. The first stream, consisting of settler-colonists, pursued the goal of creating in the occupied countries a privileged segment of large landowners, civil servants, and a bourgeoisie of European origin, constituting the main bulwark of colonial domination. This stream was halted and reversed as a result of the collapse of the French colonial empire. The second migration stream, coming into France, has at the present time not only failed to dry up but has notably widened. It consists of hapless people who have no work at home and are vainly hoping to find happiness in an alien land. The exploitation of cheap foreign labor has reached enormous proportions in France today. It is sufficient to note that in 1978 there were 845,000 Algerians living there, 820,000 Portuguese, 572,000 Italians, 570,000 Spaniards, 270,000 Moroccans, 150,000 Tunisians, and so on--a total of over 4 million persons or 8 percent of the country's population.

It should be pointed out that foreign laborers are badly treated in France. They are offered only unskilled work. The state has not the slightest concern for their professional training, education, or social security. Foreign laborers live in dreadful housing conditions. Hundreds of so-called "sleep merchants" offer them a "nook" for the night in squalid quarters. On the outskirts of all major French cities you can see "Bidonvilles"--whole districts of hastily thrown up board-and-tin barracks. These are the immigrants' "communal dwellings."

Migrants from North and Central Africa and Asia, as a rule, get less pay than Europeans for equal labor. They carry the whole burden of racial prejudice. There are cases of unpunished murders of foreign workers. In 1973, for example, 52 Algerians were murdered in France, but the police did not lift a finger to catch the murderers.

There is a widespread myth in the West that migration to the New World, for example the United States, Canada, or Australia, has brought about the fusion of representatives of many countries and brought their customs and traditions closer together. In reality, no close consolidation of the national communities of immigrants has taken place in these countries. Consider, for example, the Negro "ghettos" and Italian or Mexican districts of the cities of the United States. Also well-known are the deprivations suffered in the United States by the emigrants from Russia, Poland, and the Asian countries before being absorbed in to American society. They were subjected to terrible exploitation and forced to work up to 16 hours a day in the so-called "sweat shops" (incidentally, this term was first used in the United States with regard to immigrants from Eastern Europe).

The American sociologist G. Isaacs was compelled to acknowledge that "in reality American society brought about a fusion only of some of the people (mainly white Americans of the Protestant faith who came from northern Europe), while incompletely incorporating some others (chiefly white persons from southern and eastern Europe) and almost completely excluding all others (persons with black, brown, red, and yellow skin)."

Thus, no twists, concealments or falsifications can help the "Sovietologists" mask or gloss over the racism and other forms of national discrimination encountered at every step in the capitalist countries. Also doomed to fail are the attempts of our ideological adversaries to distort the demographic and migration processes in the USSR which serve to strengthen socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, to educate the country's working people in the spirit of high principles of communist morality.

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REGIONAL

KAZAKH LITERARY FIGURE ATTACKS REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by writer Hero of Socialist Labor G. Musrepov (KazTag): "Let There Be No Conflagration of War"]

[Text] The life of many Soviet people was scorched by the fires of war. During those terrible years, each family suffered when fathers, sons, and brothers failed to return from the front. Villages were burned in the ferocious conflagration, grain fields were reduced to ashes. Books were burned in bonfires. The Hitlerites, retreating under the attacks of our valiant troops, left behind smoking wastelands. Thanks to the heroism of our warriors, the heroic labor of workers on the home front, fascism was defeated and a peaceful sun shines over Europe.

Now the reckless atomic cowboys, headed by United States President Reagan, want to destroy this life of creativity, counting on the advantages of a first strike.

Our people dream of peace. In conversations with readers I often hear their most heartfelt desire--to live in peace and friendship, to raise grain, to bring up their children. I know that the same thing is desired by many millions of people abroad who are currently taking part in huge antiwar demonstrations. For this reason, one's heart is deeply touched by the words of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Yu. V. Andropov's Declaration, each line of which is replete with responsibility for the fate of the world. This vital document of our time reflects our great nation's calm and dignity; it sounds a serious warning to the militarist circles who have begun to deploy the American "winged death" in a number of European countries. Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's Declaration quite rightly emphasizes that by giving their blessing to the deployment of American nuclear weapons, the leaders of these Western European countries have taken on themselves, along with the United States government, sole responsibility for the consequences of this short-sighted policy, concerning which the Soviet Union gave advance warning.

Civilization has given mankind unprecedented possibilities to transform the world. In benign hands the atom can be a creative rather than a destructive force, one which turns turbines and raises man to fantastic heights. It is essential, therefore, to ensure that the atom's energy serves mankind rather than destroys the planet.

The communist party and the Soviet government are bending every effort to deflect the mortal danger hovering above the earth. One more clear confirmation of the peace-loving Leninist course is seen in the new peace initiatives which have been unanimously endorsed and supported by our people. And no one can reproach the Land of the Soviets for taking countermeasures to ensure its security and the security of its allies.

We Soviet literati are obliged to march in the front ranks of the struggle for peace, to fight for mankind's future with the flaming word of truth. Our books must teach justice and the need to defend the blue planet against the conflagration of war in the name of Earth.

Let reason triumph!

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KAZAKH CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUREO MEETS, DISCUSSES TRUCK TRANSPORT

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 83 p 1

[Unattributed article: "In the Buro of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At its regular meeting the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro discussed the work of the Kazakh Ministry of Automotive Transport with regard to further improving the effectiveness of utilization of rolling stock in light of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress. It was noted that the ministry has implemented a number of measures designed to meet the transport needs of the national economy and the population and improve the administration of the transport process. An automated sector control system is in use. The material technical base is growing, and technical maintenance and repairs to vehicles and trailers are improving. Automotive transport workers are making a substantial contribution toward the Food Program, especially during the harvest season.

At the same time, the Central Committee Buro believes that the efforts of the republic's Ministry of Automotive Transport do not yet fully meet the requirements of the 26th Party Congress and the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum concerning radical conversion to intensive factors of economic growth, greater effectiveness, and better quality of operations. The measures undertaken by the ministry are not yielding the desired effect, and there are serious shortcomings in the organization of passenger and freight transport. In the elapsed years of the five-year plan, 10 oblast freight administrations have not fulfilled stipulated plans. The coefficient of utilization of the vehicle fleet is low. Overconsumption of fuel is considerable. Not much is being done to strengthen labor discipline; absenteeism, road and transport accidents, and unproductive losses of work time have increased; and advanced experience is not being properly disseminated.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro directed the republic's Ministry of Automotive Transport to eliminate these shortcomings and to mobilize the collectives of the enterprises to substantially increase the effectiveness and quality of automotive transport operations and complete the targets of the five-year plan in accordance with the requirements of the 26th Party Congress and the directives of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. It called for imposing order in utilization of the vehicle fleet, introducing container and packet freight more vigorously, making broader use of the experience of advanced enterprises in efforts for

effective operation of each vehicle and trailer, focusing more attention on the operations of automotive passenger transport and quality of service, enhancing the organizational level and strengthening discipline and mutual exactingness in the labor collectives, developing the brigade contract method, undertaking measures to ensure unconditional fulfillment of capital investment plans designed to develop and renovate the repair base of the automotive outfits and attain projected capacity of the industrial enterprises, and stepping up efforts to convert motor vehicles to gas and diesel and passenger transport to electrical traction.

A number of other matters of the economic and cultural life of the republic were discussed.

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KAZAKH CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE BURO ON PARTY UNITY, AGRICULTURE

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 83 p 1

[Unattributed article: "In the Buro of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At its regular meeting the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro examined the work of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Institute of Party History with respect to working out topical problems of party-history science in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The Buro noted that the institute's collective is making a substantial contribution toward working out topical problems of the Kazakh CP, party construction, and propagandizing of Marxism-Leninism. More than 50 original works have been published in recent years. Scientific supervision has been exercised over the translation into Kazakh of V. I. Lenin's "Complete Collected Works" in 55 volumes, also individual works of K. Marx and F. Engels. A number of collections have been published with regard to problems of the history of the CPSU and party construction.

At the same time, the institute's efforts with regard to working out topical problems of party-history science and generalizing the experience of the republic's party organizations also include shortcomings. The integrated approach is not adequately observed in scientific research. Inadequate study is being made of questions of party leadership in the creation and development of territorial-production complexes in the republic. The efforts of the scientific council are not sufficiently effective. The institute is not carrying out all of its coordinative functions, nor has it established close ties with the republic's social scientists for joint working out of complex problems in the sphere of history and party construction.

The necessity was noted of perfecting the planning of scientific work in the spirit of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress, the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the programmatic statements of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, focusing special attention on the study of the problematics of developed socialism and more in-depth studies of the most important laws governing the economic, social-political, and spiritual progress of society as well as strengthening of the party's role of leadership at the present stage.

Speakers pointed out the necessity of improved scientific-methodology help for the institute's support posts in the party's obkoms in working out plans and seeking out the most acceptable and effective forms of their work, in consulting on and reviewing works prepared by them.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro heard a discussion of the work of the Ural' Obkom with respect to further intensification of agriculture and other sectors of the agroindustrial complex in light of the requirements of the 26th Party Congress, the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the Food Program. It noted that the oblast now focuses more attention on the intensification of agricultural production and has markedly strengthened organizational and political work in the collectives designed to fulfill state plans and socialist obligations. In the first 3 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the target of grain sales to the state was fulfilled by 103 percent. Considerable work has been done on strengthening the feed base, water management construction, and social restructuring of the village.

It was noted, at the same time, that the level of organizational and political work in the oblast party organization with respect to the further intensification of agriculture is not yet in full accord with the requirements of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The quality of land cultivation is low on a number of farms, equipment and fertilizers are poorly utilized, seed breeding is not properly organized, and soil-protection measures and advanced experience are not being adopted fast enough. There are serious shortcomings in the development of livestock farming. Livestock productivity is low, and breeding and herd reproduction operations are not properly organized. A firm feed base is lacking in many cases. A number of RAPO [rayon agricultural production association] councils have failed to restructure their work, are operating in the same old way, and are not exerting sufficient influence on the efforts of their partners in the agroindustrial complex.

Managers of enterprises of the meat, dairy, and food industry in the oblast have not manifested constant concern to upgrade the economic effectiveness of production, make full use of productive capacities, and increase the output and assortment and improve the quality of the products.

The Buro directed the obkom to eliminate these shortcomings and focus the attention of party organizations on the practical implementation of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the directives of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. V. Andropov with regard to matters of further development of agriculture and sectors related to it. Party, soviet and agricultural organs as well as managers of sovkhozes and kolkhozes in the oblast were directed to implement a broad program to enhance the culture of land cultivation and livestock farming in order to achieve a further rise in agriculture, eliminate the lag in the production and procurement of produce and livestock products, and meet the targets and socialist obligations of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The Buro examined measures on preparing machinery operators for the upcoming fieldwork as well as a number of other matters.

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KAZAKH 'CRITICIZES' WESTERN RUSSIFICATION CHARGES, CITES SOURCES

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 83 pp 2, 3

[Article by Professor, Dr of Philosophical Sciences A. Nysanbayev and Docent, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences R. Kurbanov (Alma-Ata): "Crocodile Tears. Socialist Culture in the Distorted Mirror of Bourgeois Sovietologists"]

[Text] Present-day anticommunism strives to weaken the revolutionizing influence of our country's achievements, to disparage the experience of the socialist solution to the nationality question in the USSR. This aim is served by the concoctions of the anti-Soviet ideologues, representatives of the various trends of anticommunism which have in recent years become increasingly vigorous in falsifying the achievements of the republics of the Soviet East, especially processes of the rapid upsurge of their spiritual culture.

CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the June 1983 Central Committee Plenum emphasized: "In all educational and propaganda work it is essential always to take account of the nature of the historical period mankind is living through. It is marked by the confrontation, unprecedented throughout the postwar period in terms of intensity and ferocity, of two polar-opposite world views, two political courses--socialism and imperialism. It is a struggle for the hearts and minds of billions of people on the planet. And mankind's future depends to a large degree on the outcome of this ideological struggle. Clearly, therefore, it is exceptionally vital to be able to convey to the broadest masses throughout the world, in accessible and convincing form, the truth about socialist society, its advantages, its peaceful policies. It is no less important to skillfully unmask imperialism's lying, subversive propaganda. We need a well-thought-out, unified system of counterpropaganda, one which is dynamic and effective."

As a result of radical social-economic transformations, a Soviet socialist culture, unified in spirit and genuine content, has developed and flourished in our country on the basis of shared Marxist-Leninist ideology and many-sided interaction of national cultures. Its most important traits are a profound sense of nationality [narodnost'], communist ideals, and party-mindedness. The multinational Soviet culture is more than the sum of national cultures; it is a close-knit, direct dialectical interweaving and interpenetration of them. In its national variety, and being one in content,

it absorbs into itself all the best traits of each national culture, stimulating their further all-round development and enrichment with new spiritual values that are internationalist in character and serve to promote the social-moral development of the individual. In the anti-Soviet propaganda of the hired ideologues of imperialism a prominent place is occupied by falsification of the CPSU's cultural policies and the role of the Soviet intelligentsia in the development of socialist culture. It should be pointed out that our ideological enemies are well aware that the domain of culture has chinks through which bourgeois nationalism can penetrate and in the sphere of culture promote alienation, segregation, and reclusiveness in the overall context of development.

The ideologues of today's capitalism, who cannot conceal the obvious and magnificent successes of all the national republics of the USSR, are attempting to depict the cultural rapprochement of our country's peoples as a leveling, a liquidation of their "ethnic individuality." They operate on the erroneous and reactionary theory which alleges that in the Soviet period the peoples of our multinational country "have been gradually losing their uniqueness, the independence of their artistic culture, being diluted in the Great Russian culture." This process, according to our ideological enemies, is being implemented in a systematic and deliberate manner. The bourgeois Sovietologists, misinterpreting categories of the national and international in art and distorting their content in the spirit of nationalism, completely deny the mutual enrichment and influence of the national cultures, which in fact is inseparable from fruitful internationalist development. In the epoch of mature socialism, the national cultures are developing not as antipodes to the common Soviet culture but as forms of its expression, for in the words of V. I. Lenin "internationalist culture is not unnational [beznatsional'na]."
Without national form there is no internationalist culture.

The anticomunists declare that Soviet culture is being imposed. Here are some of their characteristic statements: "A policy of assimilation in a central culture is being implemented," says John Mueller. In her article "Ethnic Uniqueness and the Soviet Nationalities." Paula Rubel states: "The question still remains whether such a culture can develop without being imposed, if even consciously and exclusively it will be maintained by the centralized structure of Soviet society." The collective work "Russia and Asia," analyzing Russia's influence on the peoples of Asia, says of the peoples of the Soviet East that "in social life the cultures of many of these peoples have already become Russian or Soviet."

"Soviet," yes--for in our social life there is an ongoing process of internationalization, mutual enrichment of the fraternal cultures. As our enemies have had demonstrated to them more than once, it is this unification in the political, economic, and cultural spheres which makes the Soviet people strong and mighty. And no one will ever split that unity. Alleging that the cultures of many peoples have become Russian, the bourgeois Sovietologists have exposed themselves in public as political dilettantes. Deliberately closing their eyes and ears, they do not want to know about the revolutionary upsurge of the national cultures of our homeland's peoples; they do not want to know or to see how frequently national ensembles from many fraternal re-

publics make guest appearances literally next door to them, including from Kazakhstan. And the programs which they perform, in the unanimous opinion of the delighted viewers and mass media, are profoundly unique, reflecting the best national traditions, the development of which--we emphasize this once more--would hardly have been so vigorous in any but a socialist society.

The anticomunists deliberately ignore the fundamental difference between national relations under capitalism, characterized by increasing national dispersion, national limitation and self-centeredness, and under socialism, where overall development is accomplished under conditions of fraternal mutual aid and friendship. They are alarmed by the steady upsurge in the economy, science, and culture of the Soviet republics, for this undercuts even more the positions of capitalism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and serves to increase the attractive power of the world socialist system. This is why the bourgeois ideologues and Sovietologists are attempting to raise anticomunism to a higher level. Especially diligent in this regard is Edward Allworth, director of the Center for Soviet National Problems at Columbia University, who is famous for his slanderous works on the matter of the Soviet state's treatment of the literature and press of the eastern peoples. Such works distort the true essence of the CPSU's cultural policies in the Soviet East. The anticomunist literature devotes considerable effort in attempting to prove that the Soviet Union suppresses, persecutes or assimilates the cultures of the peoples of the "Moslem" East.

Recently the bourgeois ideologues have stepped up their dissemination and propagandizing of a "new ideological weapon" in the form of a pan-Turkic "cultural nationalism." To bolster their falsifying activities they have armed themselves with the ideology of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism.

Claiming that there is a unified Turkic culture, a unified Turkic nation, the falsifiers of history distort the true essence of the cultural revolution in the Soviet East. They speak of the "Soviets' deliberate, systematic destruction of the Turks' cultural unity," separation of their languages, Russification of their culture, and so on. These ideologues claim that the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan have no rights in regard to matters of cultural life. Especially typical in this regard is T. Kocaoglu's article "Cultural Imperialism in the Dependent Turkic Countries and National Awakening," published in TURK KULTURU, which in essence is an advocate of the ideology of "Turkic cultural nationalism." Its claims differ very little from those of other ideologues of "cultural nationalism" alleging that a single Turkic language in the USSR was artificially broken up into several different languages on the basis of dialects--Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Uzbek, Tatar, Turkmen, and so on. According to these lying allegations, the culture of the "oppressed Turks" is being swallowed up and destroyed by Russian "cultural imperialism" and the languages of the Turkic peoples are being deliberately transformed into dialects of Russian. The author descends to the absurd claim that the introduction of Russian words is inexorably leading to the development of "Kazakh" and "Uzbek" dialects of Russian. The author is against introducing into the languages of the eastern peoples of the USSR such words as poem, essay [ocherk], editor, satire, novel, author, and so on. It should be pointed out that the overall process of internationalization of

languages, enrichment of their vocabulary through borrowings from other languages, is a historically conditioned natural process and hardly depends on the will of many individuals. The process is an inevitable expression of increasing contacts and links between peoples in all spheres of material and spiritual life in the present-day scientific-technical revolution. Allegations of the artificial splitting of the Turks (Bashkirs, Tatars) and systematic "destruction of Turkic culture," Turkic literatures and languages in the USSR are trumpeted by another ideologue of "Turkic cultural nationalism," Abdulla Battal Taymaz in his "The Kazan' Turks" in a series published by the Institute for the Study of Turkic Culture, where he blathers about "communism's rejection of everything national, especially national culture and history." The same spirit is evidenced by the authors of "The Turkic World," published by the same institute.

Our ideological adversary's fabrications concerning Russification of the literatures and languages of the eastern peoples of the Soviet Union have misfired. An analysis of literary texts in the national languages of the Soviet East shows that the percentage of words borrowed from Russian, to the great disappointment of these foreign "researchers," is within normal limits.

It should be pointed out that the ideologues of pan-Turkic "cultural nationalism," guided by political considerations, view languages and language families completely separately from one another.

The close historical ties between Soviet peoples are reflected in the vocabularies of their languages. Moreover, language development is inconceivable without mutual influence and enrichment. The process of word borrowing has always gone in both directions. Since the history of individual Slavic and Turkic peoples has been closely linked, for example, the Turkic languages have had a marked effect on the vocabulary of the Slavic languages, which Soviet linguists are investigating now.

Because of expansion of the functions of Russian as the language of inter-ethnic communication, as is well known, in addition to their native language all nationalities master a second--Russian. Bilingualism is not only characteristic of rather broad segments of the population of the republics of the Soviet Union but is also a general tendency of the modern world. In addition to the study of Russian in the USSR, all the necessary conditions have been created for mastering the languages of the West and the East, a fact which is deliberately ignored by the anticomunists, who have recently become increasingly interested in national language problems. Of particular interest in this regard are materials from a symposium on the topic "Language Policy and the Language Situation in Soviet Central Asia," published in SLAVIC REVIEW. The papers of this symposium falsify the dialectics of language processes in the USSR, alleging that the main goal of our country's language policy is to make Russian the sole language of the Soviet Union and that this is to be done by force. Tangled in verbal casuistry, the bourgeois "linguistic researchers" deliberately refuse to stand on scientific positions.

What is taking place in reality is not "Russification" but internationalization of the scientific and social-political terminology of the national languages of the Soviet Union, a completely natural and logical phenomenon in

light of the general tendency and unification of terms that are international by nature. As for the real role of the Russian language, it must be stressed that its study and mastery has become a social necessity, for it has become the language of interethnic communication within the country and a means of bringing the peoples of the USSR to world culture. As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov remarks, "a factor of exceptional significance in the economic, political, and cultural life of the country, in the rapprochement of all nations and nationalities, in bringing to them the riches of world civilization, is the Russian language, which has naturally become a part of the life of millions of people of all nationalities." International terminology enters the national languages via Russian, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that such terms are frequently adopted in Russian transliteration.

Being enriched through the use of internal resources of word formation and the assimilation of professional vocabulary as well as borrowings of Russian and international terms via Russian, the local languages of formerly backward peoples have been developed and become fully adequate to the needs of contemporary science. The national languages in the USSR are developing and becoming richer. This same conclusion, incidentally, has been reached by American linguists on the basis of comparing the state of the same Oriental language in the USSR and abroad.

Professor William Townsend, the founder and director of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Santa Ana, California, twice visited the eastern republics of the Soviet Union. He wrote a large work dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the USSR. The author speaks of the superiority of the language problem solution in the Soviet Union and calls for applying it in all multinational countries of the world, including the United States.

One aspect of the ideological struggle in the sphere of culture is the attitude toward the cultural heritage of the past. In their diligent "scientific" endeavors, our ideological adversaries in this sphere also proceed on the basis of the reactionary tenets of bourgeois ideology, its moral-ethical and aesthetic principles, completely ignoring internationalism and the content of artistic culture common to all mankind.

In their voluminous works, the bourgeois Sovietologists strive to convince their readers that there is a conflict in the Soviet Union between representatives of the Russian and the national intelligentsia of the peoples of the East, alleging that "the communist leadership of the Soviet Union has not trusted the new intelligentsia of the Central Asian republics from the first years of Soviet rule." According to the bourgeois ideologues, this "conflict" is especially bitter in the sphere of cultural construction in the USSR, and the source of the conflict between the Russian and the "Moslem" intelligentsia is the latter's attachment to their own national culture of the past. Completely ignoring the actual facts of our cultural life, the anticomunists claim that "a very ancient and rich cultural heritage is being deliberately concealed" from young representatives of the eastern peoples of the USSR. Posing as ardent "defenders" of the cultural heritage of the peoples of the Soviet East, the Sovietologists write a great deal about imaginary "negative" attitudes in the USSR toward the ancient epics of the Turkic peoples.

It must be pointed out that the bourgeois Sovietologists view these epics from quite different class and ideological-aesthetic positions. The focus of attention is their beloved principle of the imagined hostility of the Soviet government and the communist party toward the spiritual culture of the smaller peoples.

In stating this lying concept, the bourgeois ideologues forget to mention that the epics have been published repeatedly in our country, that many talented Soviet scientists have researched various problems of the ancient literary monuments. The bourgeois ideologues conceal from their readers that the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Literature imeni A. M. Gor'kiy has collaborated with the Institute of the History of Language and Literature of the Autonomous Republics to carry out scientific publication of the epic works of oral poetry of the peoples of the USSR in Russian and in the original.

The bourgeois ideologues blather on about "repressive measures" (concocted by themselves) undertaken against national intelligentsia's coming out in defense of the cultural heritage and call upon them to "accommodate their conquerors in order to preserve as far as possible the greater portion of their cultural heritage." They write about "a new tendency of resistance against Russification of the national culture" on the part of the intelligentsia of the Soviet East. Commenting on enormous "differences" in the national cultures of the Soviet peoples, they speak of "Russia's insignificant cultural influence on Moslems," of a rather "weak attachment toward Russian Soviet culture" and the "rather considerable artificiality of its proletarian, internationalist aspect," of "the drifting of the nationalities away from Russians in the sphere of culture." Our Soviet reality has completely discredited these concoctions of the "experts" on the Soviet East.

The bourgeois falsifiers' allegations of "suppression" of the national cultures of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan generally rest on their having equated them with the Islamic religion, also on absolutization of archaic traditional forms of these cultures. In his article "The Problem of National Minorities in the USSR," for example, Alfred Meyer asserts: "Religion is inseparably linked with any genuine national culture. For this reason, hostility with regard to the one entails hostility with regard to the other...." The bourgeois Sovietologists complain that "in the Soviet Union only selected aspects of the culture of Central Asia are preserved and encouraged."

To equate the culture of the peoples of the Soviet East with Islam is fundamentally wrong. As is well-known, Arab conquerors in the 7th century destroyed all manuscripts of Khorezm and all bearers of its culture. Countries of ancient culture became increasingly fettered by the influence of the "Moslem" religion, which attempted to stifle any urges toward knowledge and progress. National culture cannot be made dependent on religion, for its genuine development and flourishing can begin only after religion is scientifically surmounted. This is convincingly demonstrated by the social reality of the republics of the Soviet East.

Of enormous importance to the development of culture and progress in the spiritual life of society is education. It is the basis for creative mastery and progress of all components of society's culture. Education is a most important indicator of the level of national development characterizing maturity of the national culture. For this reason, one of the first concerns of the communist party and the Soviet state in implementing the cultural revolution was to liquidate illiteracy. Distorting the essence of the enormous achievements of the Soviet peoples in the sphere of public education, our ideological adversaries in their voluminous "scientific" works strain to prove that there is "ethnic" and "racial" discrimination in the Soviet educational system. In one voice they announce an "enormous," "inevitable," "dramatic" gap in the level of education, especially in the matter of scientific cadre training, between representatives of the "European" and "Asian" nationalities of the USSR. These declarations of our ideological adversaries are completely unfounded. They represent the same old attempt to denigrate at any cost the abundant experience of cultural transformations in the republics of the Soviet East, which are of great international significance to many countries of the world, especially the developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

6854
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REGIONAL

UKRAINIAN CC SECRETARY SKETCHES OVERVIEW OF ATHEIST PROPAGANDA

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 9, Sep 83 (signed to press 1 Aug 83)
pp 2-5

[Article by A. Kapto, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretary:
"Forming Atheistic Convictions"]

[Excerpts] The party organization of the Ukraine is continuously improving atheist work, striving to connect it with life and with the solution of economic and political tasks. The coordination of the activity of party, Komsomol, soviet, and public organizations and of ideological institutions has been noticeably improved. This is insuring purposeful and scientific leadership of the entire atheistic indoctrination process. Planning, the training of personnel, the use of effective work forms and methods, and the summarizing of experience have a systematic nature. Atheistic indoctrination questions are being discussed during the plenums and sessions of party committees; during meetings of the party aktiv; in party, Komsomol and other public organizations; in work collectives; in rural assemblies; and in the pedagogical councils of educational establishments. Such forms of communist indoctrination as the publicizing of a socialist way of life and of communist morals and the forming of civic spirit and patriotism are being widely used in atheistic indoctrination.

With such a comprehensive approach to the area of full-scale atheist influence, the most varied population groups, including housewives, retirees and the disabled, are being caught. You see, it is they who at times are the object of religious organizations' intense attention.

It is natural that special attention is being paid to production collectives. It is difficult to overrate their capabilities. The party committees of Kiev and Voroshilovgrad, Zaporozhye, Lvov, and other oblasts have acquired valuable experience in directing the atheist indoctrination process in work collectives. Here, the activity of all the subunits in the indoctrination process-- party, Komsomol and trade union organizations; the councils of tutors and veterans; women's councils; the councils for assistance to the family and the school; and other public organizations -- is being coordinated through the councils for atheist indoctrination and the sections attached to the ideological commissions of the party committees. These same councils are insuring the correlation of atheist indoctrination with labor, patriotic and international indoctrination

As experience shows, the party committees of many of the republic's labor collectives are searching for and finding opportunities for effective atheist work with the different categories of workers. For example, a significant number of the workers in the L'vovskoye "Elektron" Production Association live in rural areas. Their work and living conditions, the budget for free time, and the geography of their settlement on the oblast's territory have been studied. As a result, interesting forms of ideological and indoctrinal work, including atheistic work, have been developed. The production collectives are maintaining close ties with the party organizations of the kolkhozes and with the councils of people's deputies on whose territory the workers are living. Worker reporting, evenings of worker glory, and the honoring of worker dynasties are taking place. Patronage assistance and an exchange of concerts have been organized.

Work activity plays an important role in overcoming the vestiges of religion and in forming atheistic convictions. It is during the work process that a sense of collectivism, comradely cooperation and mutual help, and a creative attitude toward work arise. It is far from accidental -- as sociological research data testifies -- that religious vestiges affect least of all workers in the machine building, metallurgical and chemical industries, that is, in the branches of the national economy that require a high level of skill and education.

Experience shows that the effectiveness of measures noticeably increases if they have a multi-dimensional nature. Thus, documentary films such as "The Trojan Horse", "Vampires", "The Last Pages", and "The Servants of Jehovah" and also the artistic films "Until the Last Minute", "Atonement for Another's Sins", and "The Secrets of Saint Yuriy", are being shown and discussed in the Transcarpathian Oblast along with lecture series in houses of culture, clubs, work collectives, and residences. The anticomunist and anti-people essence of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and Uniates and the antisocial activity of certain sectarian groups are shown in these films.

The measures, which are being conducted by the mobile "Man Must Be Enlightened", "Atheist", "Svitayok" ("Dawn") and other clubs that are operating in all cities and rayons, are enjoying great success in Transcarpathia.

The "Knowledge About Nature" Schools in Ternopol, Volyn, Ivano-Frankovsk, and other oblasts have become an effective way to publicize a scientific world outlook. The three years of study in these schools contribute to the formation of a scientific and materialistic world outlook, help people to rid themselves of the vestiges of religion, and stimulate the spiritual development of a person. Many students of these schools, including believers, subsequently continue their studies and take an active part in public and political life.

During recent years, the mass information media have been disseminating the ideas of scientific atheism more actively. The "Atheist Club", "The Materialistic World Outlook Forum", "Saturday's Conversations About a World Outlook", "Sunday's Conversations" and other headlines are constantly found on the pages of oblasts and rayon newspapers.

Vestiges of religion are primarily preserved among people of the older and elderly generation; however, religious preachers persistently search for ways to influence youth. Many years of experience convince one that the atheistic indoctrination of children and youth must be closely combined with active propaganda work among the adult population, especially women. You see, the influence of believing parents is the main source of religious notions for children.

Taking this circumstance into consideration, work collectives, preschool institutions, schools, and public organizations conduct atheistic work with adults and children. In Vinnitsa Oblast, for example, atheistic lecture bureaus for parents, which are designed for the entire 10 years of their children's studies, are being widely used. The goal of the measures being conducted -- lectures and discussions, thematic evenings, question and answer evenings, and joint meetings of teachers, parents and pupils -- is to provide parents a pedagogical knowledge, help them in rearing their children within the family, and reveal the harm of religious traditions, superstitions and prejudices.

The implementing and publicizing of socialist rituals is an important direction in atheistic work within the republic. The new holidays and ceremonies are not only ousting religious ones but are also strengthening the spiritual values of a socialist way of life. In satisfying the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress on reorienting and improving all sectors of ideological work, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's government, party and soviet bodies, and trade union and Komsomol organizations are devoting a great deal of attention to the further development of new rituals. Just as throughout the country, a system of state, military, patriotic, professional, labor, family, and everyday holidays and ceremonies has taken shape and is functioning in the republic.

It was mentioned during the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum how important it is "to note in time new positive changes for the better in national relations... to find those work forms which open up an even wider expanse for the mutual enrichment of our people's cultures".

Socialist rituals have become an important means for strengthening international ties with the workers of the other union republics. Long years of friendship connect the rural workers of Gorodishchenskiy Rayon in Cherkassy Oblast with their colleagues in Yaroslavskiy Rayon in Yaroslavl Oblast and with the workers of the Taganrogskiy Combine Plant in Rostov Oblast. The conducting of brotherhood and cooperation holidays and the exchange of work experience have become a tradition.

The international ties of the workers of Staroselye village in Gorodishchenskiy Rayon with the workers of the Cooperative imeni Vasil Kolarov (city of Strelcha, People's Republic of Bulgaria) are being expanded. The source of this friendship goes back to the Thirties when Georgiy Dimitrov sent a letter of salutations to the famous workers M. S. Demchenko and M. V. Gnatenko. The kolkhoz members visited Bulgaria and became acquainted with the work achievements of their friends.

The work ceremonies and holidays -- Hammer and Sickle and Harvest -- have become firmly established in Starosel'ye. A museum of the champion beet grower movement has been created here. It will celebrate its 50th anniversary next year.

Special attention is being paid in the republic to the selection and training of personnel to perform and organize the new rituals and to the strengthening of the ritual's material, scientific and instructional methods base. More than 10,000 commissions for Soviet traditions, holidays and ceremonies are now operating in the councils of people's deputies. They are composed of party and Soviet workers and the representatives of trade union and Komsomol organizations, scientific establishments and creative unions. A total of 19,000 assistance groups, who are helping to conduct and publicize the new holidays and ceremonies, have been created in enterprises and institutions. Now, 120 palaces and houses, about 6,000 artistic event rooms, and more than 6,000 specially equipped rooms and halls for holding ceremonies are functioning in the Ukraine. Specialized enterprises and firms for providing ceremonial services to the population have been created in large cities, there are 114 festival halls and more than 650 ceremonial service salons, and points for taking orders for them have been opened in many villages.

The Commission for Soviet Traditions, Holidays and Ceremonies of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has developed and approved recommendations for celebrating Victory Day and for organizing and conducting the following ceremonies: "Lines to the USSR Armed Forces", the ceremonial handing over of a USSR citizen's passport, the first bell in school, initiations into the ranks of workers and corngrowers, marriages, ceremonial registrations of the new-born, and civil funerals. These recommendations have been published with a wide circulation and are being widely used in practical work. The "Program for the Training Course For People To Perform Ceremonies" has also been published. Based on it, seminars are being conducted and an instructional methods textbook for those performing ceremonies is being prepared. Contests for the best performance of ceremonies are being arranged in many oblasts.

All of these measures are contributing to the widespread expansion of the new ceremonies. For example, whereas 64 percent of the marriages were registered in a festive situation during 1975, 82.9 percent of them were in 1982. Church wedding ceremonies have practically become a thing of the past. The number of ceremonial registrations of new-born infants grew from 47 to 62.8 percent, and civil ceremony funerals -- from 6 to 49.5 percent.

Of course, not all of the questions in this important sector of ideological and indoctrinational work have been solved. For example, a deeper theoretical elaboration of such a problem as the social and psychological effect of the rituals on the consciousness and conduct of the representatives of the various professional and age population groups, is required. It is still necessary to develop scientifically sound recommendations for improving the organization and methods for incorporating the new rituals and for improving their effectiveness within the system of the population's scientific and atheistic indoctrination.

The reorientation of atheistic indoctrinational work has forced the republic's party committees to study more concretely and more deeply both the peculiarities of modern ideological work in general and the specifics of atheistic indoctrination. Further, better substantiated and topical research on the causes of religiousness under the conditions of mature socialism and of the process for reproducing religion in the new generations and the revealing of the trends, which are characteristic of religious communities and believers under the conditions of socialism, are needed. Party committees and primary party organizations are now working in this direction. This scientific and thorough approach is permitting atheistic propaganda methods to be improved and is making the work of raising a new individual and the struggle against the remnants of the past in the consciousness and conduct of a certain part of the population -- more effective.

During the 26th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress, talk concerned the need to strengthen the atheistic indoctrination of the population and to suppress the attempts of foreign clerical centers to use religion for purposes inimicable to our country.

Imperialist propaganda is using religion as a political instrument in the psychological war against the socialist countries. The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out: "Imperialism's numerous ideological centers are trying not only to maintain but also to implant religiousness and to attach to it an anti-Soviet and nationalistic direction. Special stress is being placed on religious extremists. At the same time, fabrications about 'violations of freedom of conscience in the USSR' are being disseminated. Imperialist, nationalist and Zionist centers; the right-wing of the Catholic Church, the remnants of the Uniates, orthodox and monarchist groupings, and the leaders of a number of Protestant organizations, which are hostilly attuned to socialism, are closing in on the platform of anticomunism and anti-Sovietism!"

Using the coming church jubilees -- the 1,000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into Russia and the 2,000th anniversary of the origin of Christianity, the clerical and nationalist foreign propaganda is trying to revive religiousness among the traditionally believing part of the population in our country and to evoke a definite interest in religion in that part of the youth and the intelligentsia which is indifferent with respect to a world outlook. Radio broadcasting in the Ukrainian language in the West has actually been placed at the complete disposal of the emigrant organizations of Ukrainian nationalists. Religious sermons are accompanied by nationalistic and anti-Soviet inflammatory attacks.

It is natural that the party's obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and the republic's primary party organizations are including organizational and ideological atheistic counter-propaganda measures in the system of atheistic indoctrination. The party committees in a number of Ukrainian oblasts have accumulated quite a bit of experience in neutralizing hostile clerical and nationalistic influences from abroad. The attempts of foreign propaganda centers to falsify and distort the humanist essence of Marxist-Leninist atheism and the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet State to religion, the church and believers are receiving a decisive rebuff. Thus, in order to instill a conscious and

critical attitude towards the Uniates and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in the younger generation, special lessons, atheistic lectures, theoretical conferences for parents, and meetings of young atheists are being held in schools. The clubs imeni Yaroslav Galan enjoy special popularity among the youth. "It Is Impossible To Forget This" and "No One Is Forgotten and Nothing Is Forgotten" evenings, during which the Uniate and nationalist bloody union with the fascist and the present anti-people and anti-Soviet activity of the remnants of the Uniates abroad are discussed, are being held in Carpathia. Nikolay Ivanovich Gaborak, the director of the Yablonovskaya Evening School in Kosovskiy Rayon in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, speaks with success at these evenings. He tells about the brutal bandit cut-throats (the bandits killed his parents during the war) and about their connections with the fascist and the Uniate church. He does not only talk about the past; he also says that several of these bandits have found shelter for themselves abroad and now call themselves "defenders of the rights of man" and "fighters against international communism".

The distinctive features of the ideological, especially atheistic, work under modern conditions has required the introduction of certain corrections in the organizational, ideological, theoretical and professional training of atheist propaganda personnel. The system for their selection, training and indoctrination is being improved continuously. A search for modern forms and methods for this work is being carried out -- from seminars and scientific and practical conferences in primary party organizations to permanently operating republic seminars on urgent problems in the scientific and atheist indoctrination of the workers.

The successfully functioning rayon (city) permanently operating seminars of lecturers, atheist agitators and atheistic work organizers, which were created three years ago, have well proven themselves. Sample programs for them have been developed by the inter-republic branch of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee in Kiev. A correspondence department for improving the qualifications of lecturers and atheistic work organizers -- the first in the country -- has been created in³ the philosophy department of the Kiev State University imeni T. G. Shevchenko.

The lesson plan and program of the department, which are designed for two years of study, were constructed so as not only to provide the students with theoretical knowledge but also to instill in them lecturer skills and to acquaint them with the methods for organizing atheistic work. The students in the branch are teachers, instructors in technical schools and schools, workers in public education bodies and cultural and enlightenment institutions, doctors, engineers, and party and Komsomol workers. The training work is conducted according to individual plans in which a large place is allotted to

³ For more details about this, cf. NAUKA I RELIGIYA, No 11, 1981, pp 10-14.

active training forms (the preparation and discussion of lecture texts and the atheistic work plans of party and Komsomol organizations, an analysis of atheistic literature and religious sources, the performance of specific sociological research, and an analysis of the results obtained). Well known specialists in the field of scientific atheism are the organizers and teachers of small study groups (13-15 individuals). The majority of the graduates actively join in spreading atheistic knowledge and head the councils for atheistic work in party committees and Komsomol committees.

Schools for young atheist lecturers have been created in many higher educational institutions. In them, young men and women not only increase their knowledge in the area of the history and theory of scientific atheism but also acquire experience in public presentations.

Komsomol members and youth -- in particular, young specialists-- receive atheistic work skills in the "Fundamentals of Scientific Atheism" schools. The Scientific and Instructional Methods Council for the Atheistic Indoctrination of Youth attached to the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee has prepared a reference lesson plan and program for these schools. Such active training forms as scientific and practical conferences, discussions on questions concerning the theory and practice of scientific atheism, and practical tasks, are widely used here.

The training and re-training of teachers in the area of theory and practice of scientific atheism is related to those problems that have still not been solved. For this purpose, it is necessary to make more active use of the instructional methods associations of teachers, the improvement institutes and the annual August meetings of teachers. Evidently, a mandatory special course on organizing atheistic indoctrination in the school is required in the institutes for teacher improvement. It is necessary to strengthen the world outlook, in particular the atheistic, attitude of many school textbooks and training aids as well as the different instructional methods works for teachers.

In continuously improving the work to form a scientific and materialistic world outlook and atheistic convictions among Soviet people, the republic's party committees are solving the task of the further spiritual progress of a socialist society and of the formation of a thoroughly developed, spiritually rich and harmonious personality.

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8802
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REGIONAL

NEED TO IMPROVE PARTY EDUCATION IN LATVIAN CITY RAISED

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 31 Jul 83 p 3

[LATINFORM article: "To Raise the Level of Ideological Work; Plenum of Daugavpils Party Gorkom"]

[Text] A plenum of the Daugavpils City Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia was held. Its participants discussed the question "On the Results of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Tasks of the City Party Organization Stemming from the Decree of the Plenum and the Speech There by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu.V. Andropov."

G.V. Bagnovets, first secretary of Daugavpils Party Gorkom, presented a report.

In the discussion of the question the following persons participated: Ya.Yu. Verbitskaya, secretary of the party organization of Affiliate No 4 of Riga's Latvia Production Sewing Association, Ya.Ya. Ambaynis, director of Khimvolokno Production Association, I.Ya. Antonov, party-committee secretary of Elektro-instrument Plant, Ya.A. Saliniyeks, fitter of general-construction trust, O.K. Rozhdestvenskiy, director of the Pedagogic Institute, L.S. Sudniyetse, deputy chairman of the gorispolkom and A.M. Nikiforov, first secretary of the Komsomol gorkom.

Communists and all working people of Daugavpils, the speakers noted, received with great satisfaction the decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Like all Soviet people, they warmly approve the work of the party's Central Committee and its Politburo headed by Comrade Yu.V. Andropov aimed at systematic improvement of the operation of the entire state and economic mechanism, raising the responsibility of cadres, organization and discipline, further growth of our Motherland's economic potential and improvement of the Soviet people's well-being.

Daugavpils's party organizations have achieved certain successes in boosting the effectiveness of ideological and mass political work. The forms and methods of socialist competition are being perfected, and its educational influence is becoming stronger. Evidence of this is the early fulfillment of industrial targets according to basic technical and economic indicators. Since the start of the five-year plan, its production volume has grown more than 15 percent, which is higher than the control preliminary outlines of the five-year plan.

Against the background of these achievements, the orators stated, the blunders and deficiencies of some production collectives are particularly intolerable. Because of higher labor productivity, production volume increased a total of 89 percent. At the reinforced-concrete plant of the Balttransstroy Trust, the reinforced-concrete tie plant and the bread combine, labor productivity dropped versus last year's level. It is practically not growing at Daugava Footwear Combine, the Latgales Alus Association or the construction materials and components plant.

It would seem that the party organizations of these enterprises would have directed special attention to the solution of urgent tasks and reorganized accordingly the work of their ideological aktiv. But this has not occurred. Lectures are read here with no bearing on current problems and talks are conducted without taking specific circumstances into consideration.

It is necessary, it was emphasized at the plenum, to decisively overcome such phenomena in ideo-educational work as retreat from topical problems of life as well as formalism and ostentatiousness. Realism, truthfulness and enterprise, able demonstration of our achievements and thoughtful analysis of questions troubling people, freshness of thought and clarity of exposition--this is what the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee directs us to.

The party gorkom and primary party organizations should strive in all areas for an integrated approach to political mass work, concentrating their principal attention on bolstering communist conviction and political activity of working people, development of their creative energies and to ensure the wide-scale participation of production leaders in it.

Interesting experience in this was acquired by the party organization of Affiliate No 4 of Latvia Association. Here a so-called "hour of candid talk" is regularly conducted. During it, heads of the enterprise, the party and other public organizations meet with the collectives of shops and shifts for talks on topical and acute questions. This experience deserves the widest possible dissemination.

The plenum subjected to serious criticism specific defects in the network of party education and mass political and economic education. It was pointed out that certain party organizations have not gotten to the core of its content and do not analyze its effectiveness. Many defects are still to be found in propaganda and agitation work at place of residence and particularly in regard to atheistic education of the population.

The need was emphasized at the plenum of boosting the effectiveness of patriotic and international education, intensifying propagandization of the advantages of the socialist system and the Soviet way of life and achieving universal intolerance of such things as drunkenness, parasitism and other deviations from the norms of law and order. Visual agitation is not being adequately used in ideological work. It lacks expressiveness, effectiveness and pertinence.

In pointing out existing defects, the plenum participants noted that the party gorkom and party organization must improve selection and placement of ideological cadres, keep track of the growth of their qualifications and range of information and provide them with necessary conditions for fruitful work.

Yu.Ya. Ruben, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, participated in the work of and spoke at the plenum of the Daugavpils Party Gorkom.

The plenum adopted a corresponding decree and approved the plan of first-priority measures for improving the work of Daugavpils Party Gorkom in the field of selection and training of supervisory cadres.

7697
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RELIGION, NATIONALISM SEEN REINFORCING EACH OTHER IN NORTH CAUCASUS

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 30 Sep 83) pp 2-6

[Article: "Not Taken Off the Agenda"]

[Excerpts] It has long been known that survivals of the past are most easily revived and maintained in the national sphere, since they exist under the guise of folk traditions and are passed off as an organic part of national psychology and culture. Thus the tenacity of religious ideology is to a large extent also explainable by the fact that for centuries it was linked with national factors. Today most believers are convinced that by observing religious rites they are following national traditions and maintaining loyalty to their nation. National feelings support religiosity. "However, in this soil they may grow into nationalist sentiments, harm the cause of internationalist education, and cultivate a notion of national exclusiveness in people's consciousness," states Khazhbedar Khakyashevich Bokov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) and candidate of historical sciences. For many years Kh. Kh. Bokov has been studying in depth various aspects of national relations, including those associated with religion and atheistic education, both in connection with his governmental duties and as a historian. He is the author of many articles and a number of books on this timely theme.* At the request of O. Brushlinskaya, our correspondent, Bokov shares with the journal's readers some thoughts of the relationship between national and religious matters and the importance to atheistic education of correctly understanding this problem.

Islamic ideologues in our republic are trying to stir up alarm in the people for the fate of national traditions. Concern for national traditions is in itself a worthy cause, but when Islam is advanced as a means to preserve them it inevitably turns into nationalism, propagation of national exclusiveness and distrust toward other peoples. There is also another law:

* In particular we recommend Bokov's book, "An Effective Force of Internationalism and Patriotism," GROZNY, 1980, and the article "Problems of International Rituals, Customs and Traditions in National Relations of Developed Socialism," in the journal NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, 1982, No 6. Bokov has discussed customs of the Chechen and Ingush peoples in our journal (1976, No 8).

nationalist feelings lead to a revival of religiosity, which feeds and supports them.

Precisely these phenomena could be observed not long ago in the Chechen-Ingush lands. They did not receive wide public support and were justly condemned, but at times even today one finds their echoes in a new book which interprets certain historical events from nationalistic positions, in someone's speech displaying notes of arrogance toward other nations, or in a line of verse which breathes of national conceit. I also want to recall this.

In the comparatively recent past, several interpreters of history with nationalistic inclinations advocated nationalist exclusiveness of the Chechen and Ingush people and fought for the preservation of ancestral tribal structures and a collective guarantee, basing it all on the link with religion.

Discussions, speeches and even newspaper articles from time to time interpret how the call to "save national traditions" must be understood. It turns out that this is how: do not allow marriages between different nationalities; exclude plays from the repertoire of the Chechen-Ingush Theater which do not reflect national life; eliminate piano accompaniment from Chechen-Ingush songs; do not teach Chechen and Ingush children classical music; and rid the program of the song and dance company of anything not Chechen and Ingush.

An article appeared in one of the central papers which criticized the Chechen-Ingush custom of forbidding a wife to sit at the table when her husband was dining with guests. Several local journalists regarded this newspaper article as an insult to national traditions and wrote a protest to the editors.

Here is another example of nationalist inclinations. In 1964 the story "Constellation of Yarlyga" by A. Gubin was published in Stavropol. It caused several of our literary people to become deeply indignant. I will say right off that the book is not without its faults. It can not be considered perfect artistically and contains some historical inaccuracies. But this is not at all what caused the indignation. What did? Most of all the fact that the story's heroine, the young Chechen Sekka, fell in love with a man of another nationality and dared to leave her husband. This could not be! Sekka leaves to join the Balkar man, thus, they claim, Gubin is propagandizing hostility among the peoples of the Caucasus. And how can a Chechen kiss his wife's hand? This is forbidden by Islamic law. And the fact that it was a Russian author who wrote about Chechens caused the most displeasure. "What does he know about our customs, psychology and traditions?" they said. "Tolstoy, Pushkin, Lermontov, Pavlenko, Libedinskiy, Mayakovskiy and Yesenin have written about us, and that is enough. Now we will write about ourselves. No one can know our customs better than we ourselves." And if a Russian author criticizes certain customs of the mountain peoples, it is a "double-dyed chauvinistic attack."

In recounting all this I am not deviating from the main theme of our discussion: the relationship between nationalism and religion and the indispensable merging of nationalism with religion. While the above mentioned literary people "fought" for the national dignity of our peoples, sheikhs and mullahs were also conducting an active campaign among the republic's population for the

rebirth and preservation of "national traditions." In particular they agitated in favor of 14 to 16 year old girls leaving school, proposed to regulate not only everyday family relations but also other aspects of public life by Muslim laws [the Shariat and Adat], and attempted to have women's position in society correspond to the statutes of the Koran; i.e., they fought for marriage of minors, seclusion, bigamy and unquestioning obedience to the husband.

How did the "intellectuals" who conceived hatred for the Chechen girl Sekka in the story differ from the sheikhs and mullahs? Their ideological foundations coincided, although these literary people hardly considered themselves believers.

It goes without saying that not only those who hold such manifestations of nationalist inclinations are at fault. At one time certain errors and shortcomings in carrying out the national policy and individual violations of its Leninist principles were permitted in the republic. Although subsequently they were condemned and eliminated, nevertheless the damage which they caused was significant. This is why the party constantly reminds us that it is necessary to be attentive to specific interests and particularities of national psychology and culture, and to remember them when organizing ideological work.

This requirement undoubtedly includes a knowledge of history, correct assessment of historical events, and distinguishing what is religious from what is national and what is nationalistic from what is nationalistic.

Even today one can hear from some educated person: "Of course it is necessary to form an atheistic world outlook, but we must not reject centuries old customs. And if people consider a religious rite to be a national tradition, then in opposing it we may insult their national feelings." Such defenders of religion consider themselves to be preserving culture and saving national individuality. Here they converge with the Islamic ideologues in the Chechen-Ingush lands who consider belief in Allah an essential trait of national life. "You are a Chechen (or you are an Ingush)," they tell a non-believer. "How can you not believe in Allah?" These champions of antiquity turn to their own benefit utterances such as those I recounted. They say: "Here even scholars respect religious rites; thus they are good national traditions."

It is the duty of ideological workers and representatives of the intelligentsia to explain that belief in Allah is not at all a national sign. The Muslim religion did not penetrate into the Chechen and Ingush areas until the 17th and 18th centuries. Does this mean that prior to that time they were not Chechens and Ingush? And if national individuality is reflected in the Islamic creed then how do the traditionally Islamic peoples differ from one another? Are there really no national differences among Uzbeks, Azerbaijanis, Chechens, Ingush, Kabardins, Tajiks, Tatars and other peoples formerly called "Muslim?" There are and it can not be otherwise as national features are formed under definite real-life conditions. Why, say, can we speak today about the drawing together of nations and nationalities in the USSR? Primarily it is because they share the same economy, way of life and ideology and are united by common goals toward the achievement of which they are travelling the same path. Does religion preserve traditions of the past? Of course! But what traditions,

namely? Islam preserves precisely those customs, morays and interpersonal relations which are antiquated and which the nation cannot be proud of. And it is not these traditions which today define national life. I already spoke of customs which degrade women. These also include the payment of bride-money and the abduction of the bride from her parents. But there is one custom preserved by Islam which especially needs to be discussed. That is the custom of blood vengeance.

The "guardians of antiquity" also proclaim it to be a national tradition. It is horrible to think how many tragedies have occurred on our land, in our mountains, due to this custom in the not at all distant past. Entire families have perished and their names have ceased to exist. This was even the goal of those who wrought vengeance. "Allah will not accept the soul of the murdered person unless it is avenged," taught the preachers of Islam. Vengeance is extended to all who belong to the family, who have the same name. This makes life unbearable. Members of the hostile families cannot work at the same enterprise and their children cannot go to the same schools. Oaths of vengeance hang over them.

The overwhelming majority of Chechens and Ingush have always condemned this cruel custom, and they do so today all the more decisively. But even today there are people who consider blood vengeance necessary. They say that the very existence of this custom, of fear of vengeance, will restrain people from crime. And if a crime is nevertheless committed? During my komsomol and later my party work in the rural area of the republic, I had to try to reconcile the hostile parties. This is not an easy matter. It is pitiful to see how adherence to a custom which has been sanctified by religion distorts one's personality.

In order to achieve a reconciliation a village assembly was convened. The wise, calm and sober-minded elders were of great help. I remember each such assembly down to the smallest details. I remember a woman in black whose husband and son had been killed. She cried at the assembly that only one person had been killed in return for them, and that it was necessary to kill yet another. Who would it be? She didn't care who -- young, old, someone's father, husband or brother, just that he belong to "that hated" family. Many were sympathetic to her. And I remember the old man who said: "No, in blood-shed there are neither winners nor losers. There is only grief and suffering on both sides." There was much passion at that assembly. One of those present, who had done much good for the woman and her family, came up to her and said: "I am from that side, kill me!" There were truly dramatic scenes. All of this cost us workers of the ideological front so very much effort! But what tremendous satisfaction there was in such words as those which the embittered, unhappy woman finally pronounced at the assembly: "In the name of a mother who buried her son, and a woman who buried her husband, I call upon you, oh people, to end the hostility! From now on I have no enemies, only friends! Thank you, my son, for opening my eyes."

I believe in the wisdom of the nation. It will itself reject harmful customs and take to heart everything which is good and just. I know this from the example of my fellow Chechen and Ingush countrymen. But it is necessary to

help people in this, to explain the essence of phenomena. First of all the ideological workers themselves must be models of principle and have a well-defined world outlook.

How can that which is truly national be distinguished? There is a very simple and reliable method. Not a single true national custom is harmful to the interests and aspirations of another person or group of people of another nationality. It is no accident that when many national customs are considered, including Chechen and Ingush customs, they turn out to be international. Take respect to one's elders. Hasn't this existed since most ancient times among other peoples, mountain and non-mountain, Russian, Georgian, Armenian and Ossetic? Or take hospitality. A person of any nationality is happy to have guests and display kindness and hospitality. And are not the concepts of pride and honor, courage and valor, unselfishness and comradery passed down from generation to generation by people of all continents? We recall again the well-known Marxist thesis: "...In the worker's movement, truly national ideas are at the same time always truly internationalist ideas."^{*}

The propagation of that which is national as exclusive and characteristic of the Ingush, Chechen or some other nation alone is totally false and depraved. It separates people, creates a barrier between them, sows enmity, awakens national arrogance, limits contacts among peoples and impoverishes spiritual life.

And how noble and fine it is when people are able to admire the customs of other peoples and value their wisdom. In my archive there is a letter. It was written to me by Viktor Moiseyevich Masyukov, who worked for two years as a teacher in the Gekha village, Urus-Martanovskiy Rayon, Chechen-Ingush ASSR, and then went home to Kiev. "When I read or hear about your mountain area," he wrote, "I remember with excitement this remarkable place where I worked. I remember the folk sayings and good customs and traditions and tell my present students about them. I remember with special feeling the taciturn elders. Upon meeting them I willingly bowed, following the mountain custom of respect for one's elders..."

This youth had taught Russian language and literature to the mountain children. He had seen much good in the Chechen-Ingush life. Admiring the good traditions and customs of a people, people of various nationalities begin to take them up, and the customs and traditions become common to all. Is it really so important always to stress the national origin of some custom or tradition?

Take such a Chechen and Ingush tradition as the "belkha." For example, someone is building a home or a structure and is not able to harvest his garden and lay in fodder for his cattle. The villagers gather, without regard for family ties, and help to put up the walls, build the roof and finish the other work. A national tradition? Of course. But other nations also have this custom. In our own time it is completely in the spirit of the Soviet way of life, the laws of which state: "One for all and all for one." By Russian and Ukrainian

^{*}K. Marx and F. Engels. Collected Works, vol 33, p 374.

custom people come to "assistance," by Chechen and Ingush to "belkha." Kabardians and Circassians gather in "shikhi," and Balkars and Karachayevs in "Izeu." Who can say exactly in which nation this custom first appeared?

I want to repeat again and again that one must not admire a custom simply because it is esteemed for being national. No matter how much someone might lament the "irretrievably past patriarchal times" which idealize the distant past, they are truly gone. And what if these lamenters would ask working people if they wish to be in the conditions of a "purely national life," when "no one threatened" their individuality, because they were cut off from the world and isolated from mankind's culture? I am sure that no such person would be found among Chechen and Ingush working people.

Many customs fade away not only because the conditions which gave birth to them die out, but also even the recollection of them. This is an objective process. And a progressive one! But does it mean that national life is poorer and that the distinctions between nations are erased?

Besides the drawing together of nations and nationalities in the USSR, there is another important tendency in the national life of our country -- the flowering of nations. These two tendencies are mutually conditional. Strengthening one leads to strengthening the other. For example, the broader contacts that the Chechen-Ingush peoples have with the country's other nations, and the closer their economic and cultural ties, the more conditions are created for the spiritual growth of Chechens and Ingush. At the same time, the development of all aspects of the economic and cultural life of our republic makes more effective its participation in the development of the country's economy and culture. International contact, cooperation and widespread exchange of cadres increase, and thus the internationalization of the population. Truly national values become increasingly All-Union values common to all peoples.

Only conditions of socialism can give rise to the beautiful memorials of Chechen and Ingush antiquity; for example, the tower architecture and folk creations. Everything created by the nation's talent is carefully collected and preserved. And incidentally, not only Chechens and Ingush are involved in this preservation of cultural achievements, but representatives of other peoples of the USSR are as well, especially the Russians, whose prominent scholar-specialists introduce the culture of the mountain peoples to the world.

It is not possible to illuminate in this discussion all of the issues about the tendencies in the country's national life which have been mentioned. But I would still like to draw the readers' attention to a number of aspects.

Is it not obvious that any preacher of national exclusiveness harms the spiritual life of nations? Every overemphasis on specifically national features is directed against the internationalization of our life, and retards the flowering of nations. Religion sets one nation against another, mixing up national and religious, replacing what is national with what is nationalistic, and thus contradicts the spirit of internationalism and sows local "patriotism," which has nothing in common with feelings of love toward the socialist Homeland. Thus, forming in people a correct understanding of religion is a necessary

condition of international and patriotic education. Explaining the role of religion in the history of the former "Muslim" peoples is also important for political education of the masses and for developing an immunity in people to the propaganda conducted in this area by the numerous imperialist ideological centers. The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenum stated that they strive not only to support, but also to sow religiosity and give it an anti-Soviet, nationalistic thrust. Our ideological enemies know very well this capability of religion to support and feed nationalism. They also understand that inflaming nationalism may interfere with the normal life of Soviet society (this is part of their purpose). We also must understand and remember this well.

Educating the workers in the spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism is a necessary condition of the vital activity of Soviet society. In our republic, where national life is distinguished by a number of specific historical features, the problem of national relations is tremendously significant for this education. Priority attention is given to it, both on the theoretical and scientific plane, and in practical, everyday life. At the June plenum it was rightly included in the area of social knowledge requiring more intensive study, clarity of world outlook and methodological discipline. Completing the scientific elaboration of the so-called Caucasian War is very important for the international (as well as the patriotic and atheistic) education of the republic's population.

In scientific works the process of building and developing relations of the Chechens and Ingush with the Russian people and the incorporation of Chechen and Ingush lands into Russia has been brought to light in a contradictory way. These works spoke of the forcible annexation of these lands as a result of the Caucasian War (1817-1864), and about the special position of our ancestors who resisted Russia desperately, to the last drop of blood (of course, "under the flag of Islam," which led to the idealization of the religious leaders). Thus attempts were made to place Chechens and Ingush against the other Caucasian peoples, their exclusiveness was emphasized, and the facts of history were ignored which pointed to ancient Russko-Chechen-Ingush ties and the progressive tendencies of Russko-Caucasian unity. Meanwhile, the process of bringing the Chechen and Ingush lands into Russia did not differ from the process in other areas. A Marxist-Leninist recounting of this process has been accomplished based on profound scientific research, with the assistance of the republic party organization.* Linking its fate with the Russian nation, in the end the Chechen and Ingush people joined the All-Russian revolutionary movement which, thanks to the victory of the October Revolution, led to true socialist liberation and national rebirth.

The inadequate development of this issue and its incorrect portrayal in literary fiction caused an unhealthy state of opinion, and among people who were not politically conscious even hostility toward Russians and "gratitude" to the religious leaders for the fact that the Chechens opposed the Russians with their assistance. These ideas were seized upon by foreign propaganda which

*For more detail see the book, "Centuries Together." GROZNY, 1981.

used them to stir up nationalist feelings and exalt religion as the preserver of national values.

The scholars approached the problem in a Leninist manner, taking "the sum total of all facts bearing on the question under discussion, without a single exception,"* and exposed all these concoctions by their correct, scientific solution. The publications and theoretical works which falsely portrayed this theme were evaluated by the party.

Much is being done in our republic to breed and strengthen internationalist ideas, preserve and develop national property and enrich national culture. These processes can be seen in literally every sphere of life -- in industry, everyday life, family relations and leisure activities. The republic Soviet of People's Deputies is playing a very great role in their intensification. This is natural. Educating the workers in the spirit of high communist consciousness, Soviet patriotism and internationalism, and strengthening the fraternal friendship of the USSR peoples is a most important constitutional duty of the Soviets. Their activities contain tremendous opportunities for ideological influence and communist education.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR is carrying out measures which must ensure fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet decree, "Tasks of the Soviets of Peoples Deputies for the Further Development of Friendship and Cooperation of the USSR Peoples and for International Education of the Workers." These measures take into account the specific conditions existing in various areas of the republic, their religious situation and the level of culture of the population.

During the period of preparing to celebrate the 60th Anniversary of the USSR, the 60th Anniversary of the formation of our autonomous republic and the 200th Anniversary of the voluntary inclusion of the Chechen-Ingush lands within Russia, assemblies took place in all major populated areas with the participation of many guests from neighboring republics of Dagestan, North Ossetia, Kabardino-Balkariya and from the Stavropol'skiy Kray. Each was an authentic holiday of international friendship.

The friendship and brotherhood of nations is a great achievement of socialism which we keep as the apple of our eye. At the same time, the Communist Party believes that the problem of national relations will continue to be a real one. What is required is the further strengthening of cooperation, brotherhood, mutual assistance between nations, development of all-round ties among republics and the right combination of international and national interests. It is a matter of educating the Soviet people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, and overcoming any manifestations of an ideology which is foreign to us.

*V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol 30, p 351.

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SHORTAGE OF ATHEISTIC LITERATURE IN ESTONIA

Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 2 Nov 83 p 2

[Unsigned article: "On the Publication of Atheistic Literature"]

[Text] At joint political days the question of atheistic literature in our republic has come up. Heino Kaan, editor in chief for political literature in the Eesti Raamat publishing house has the floor to answer:

Atheistic literature in our republic is mainly published by Eesti Raamat. This has been going on for many years, and the total amounts to a pretty nice library--there are monographs and popular brochures, voluminous handbooks, brief dissertations on specific questions, textbooks, and articles.

The following thoughts of Marxist-Leninist classics on religion have been published in Estonian: K. Marx' and F. Engels' "On Religion," as well as V.I. Lenin's "On Religion and Church." Textbooks for institutions of higher education (1975) and for secondary specialized education (1980) have also come off the press. Of interest as a historical approach is S. Tokarev's book "Religion in the History of the World's Peoples." L. Raid's "Vabamotlejate ringidest massilise ateismmini" ("From the Circles of Freethinkers to Massive Atheism") and K. Vimmsaare's "Religioon ja kirik Eestis" ("Church and Religion in Estonia") have been published. Church legislation is explained in V. Kuroyedov's "The Soviet State and the Church." Perhaps the greatest number and variety of publications deal with new Soviet customs, their spread and propagation. In this field there are also published methodical instructions and training aids. For example, such volumes as L. Baturin's "Children's Spring Days," "Is Confirmation an Ancient Custom?" "Youth Traditions," and collections such as "Modern Customs" and "Soviet Customs," "Memories Are Forever," and many songbooks for youth summer festivals, weddings, and other occasions have been printed.

In dealing with methodologies and psychological problems of atheist work we have been mainly limited to translations, such as M. Pismanik's "Personality and Religion," A. Cherkov's "How Does Faith Console?" or the volume on "Individual Approach in Atheist Propaganda." As a fruit of common labor of our republic's authors the collective work "Usupuhad ja ateistilik selgitustoo (Religious Holidays and Atheist Propaganda) has appeared.

In the examination of churches and sects the emphasis has also been on translations, such as M. Mtchedov's "Modern Catholicism" and P. Mitrokhin's "Baptist." Lutheranism is an exception, it has for many years been researched by Kuulo Vimmsaare, docent at the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute. He has written the book "Luterlus enne ja nuud (Lutheranism Past and Present). Just recently an interesting anthology "Kirik laias maailmas" (The Church in the Wide World) reached the bookstores. So, quite an amount of what is important and necessary in the field of atheism and religious problems has reached the reader over the years. It is, of course, a different question whether it has always been the best and most necessary that could have been published in our conditions. To discuss that question Eesti Raamat some time ago called together the most prolific authors on problems of atheism in our republic. Accomplishments were analyzed, needs and opportunities were evaluated.

Our main concern is the small number of authors writing on atheism. And those few are often burdened with many other tasks. We hope that by uniting our efforts more can be done. The first specific effort in this area is already in the process of realization--namely, the collection on "Religiooni ja ateismi ajaloost Eestis" (History of Religion and Atheism in Estonia) will be continued. To date there have been two volumes (I in 1956, II in 1961). The editor is Juri Kivimae, a scholar of the younger generation from the Institute of History, ESSR Academy of Sciences. Many experts in the field have promised to work on the editorial board. Plans call for publication of the third volume in 1985, and for further continuation of the work.

Thoughts were also exchanged on a definitive dictionary, such as the voluminous Dictionary of Atheism that was published this year in Moscow by Political Literature Publishers. The compilation of such a dictionary is, of course, a difficult task. Eesti Raamat will continue to publish the major share of atheistic literature in translation. Here it is important to choose from many possibilities those that are most suitable and necessary. Unfortunately, the larger publishers with their capabilities often put out works that deal interestingly and thoroughly with specific problems, but they publish few short, general and comprehensive works. For this reason Eesti Raamat plans to use a method that we have often used in international issues--i.e., compile a collection of articles from various sources, translate and publish them. The first such compilation about most recent research into the origins of Christianity, the Bible, etc., is already being composed.

The choice of right topics, whether dealing with originals or translations, is all the more important since the number of titles is quite limited--only one or two a year. Add to this works of fiction dealing with the problem, the popular scientific works of Valgus publishers, as well as some issues of Kunst publishers, and this should be sufficient. After all, every book published here serves either directly or indirectly the shaping of a materialist world view.

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